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IRELAND UNDER THE NORMANS

1169–1216

BY

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CHAPTER XII

THE CONQUEST OF ULSTER

1177–85

THE untimely death of Richard of Striguil was a heavy blow to the prospects of the Anglo-Norman colony, which, in Leinster at least, was beginning to settle down to peaceful progress and orderly rule. It left the king without a representative in Ireland, and the great fief of Leinster without a lord. The Countess Eva, daughter of King Dermot, had borne only one child to the earl, a daughter named Isabel, and she, an infant of not more than five years of age, was heiress to the earl's vast fief. The valuable feudal incidents of the wardship and marriage of this heiress now accrued to the king as *dominus*, and it was important for him at once to secure his rights. The commissioners sent to recall Raymond, seeing that it would be madness at this moment to execute their original commission, and that in the changed circumstances it was necessary to apply to the king for new instructions, left Raymond as procurator in Ireland, while they hastened to the

Consequences of Strongbow's death.

king to acquaint him with the facts and learn his pleasure.[1]

Henry, however, had already conceived a distrust of Raymond, and indeed it is sufficiently obvious that Raymond was not fitted either to control the colony or to secure the interests of the Crown in Leinster. Accordingly Henry appointed his dapifer, William Fitz Audelin, whom he had previously on two occasions employed in Ireland, as procurator instead of Raymond, and sent him immediately to Ireland with orders to seize into the king's hand all the earl's castles (*munitiones*) in Leinster.[2]

William Fitz Audelin Chief Governor, 1176.

Along with William Fitz Audelin came John de Courcy, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Miles de Cogan, each with ten men-at-arms. The two last, and probably all three, had fought for King Henry both in England and in France in his war with the barons, and might naturally expect their reward in Ireland now. John de Courcy may have accompanied Henry to Ireland in 1171, but this is the first time he came to stay in the country where he was soon to become famous. All three, according to Gerald de Barry, were joined in the commission with William Fitz Audelin. Of the latter Gerald

[1] Giraldus, v. 334.

[2] Gesta Hen., vol. ii. p. 125. The title 'procurator' is taken from Giraldus.

gives a very unfavourable portrait: a courtly, luxurious man, smooth-spoken, but full of guile, a bully and a coward, greedy of gold, and a seeker after court favour.[1] Acting, as is hinted, and as was very probably the case, under instructions from Henry, he seems to have endeavoured to thwart in every way the bolder spirits of the conquest, and in particular the Geraldines. Maurice Fitz Gerald, the head of the clan, died about the 1st of September in this year. Strongbow had given to him Wicklow Castle, which had at first been reserved by Henry along with the maritime district south of Dublin, but was afterwards, as we have seen, granted to Strongbow. Now Fitz Audelin took the castle out of the hands of Maurice's sons, presumably to be held for the king during the minority of Strongbow's heir. Ferns was given to them by way of exchange, and they immediately set about building a castle there; but, according to Gerald, Walter 'Alemannus', or the German, a nephew of Fitz Audelin and

[1] v. 337–8, with much more to the same effect. He has been strangely identified with William de Burgh, 'the conqueror of Connaught,' a man of a very different type. William Fitz Aldelin or Audelin, as the name should be written (not 'Aldelm'), was son of Aldelin de Aldefeld, and held a knight's fee in Yorkshire. His wife was Juliana, daughter of Robert Doisnell: see Round's Feudal England, p. 518, and the *cartae* of 1166 printed in Hearne's Liber Niger Scaccarii.

Custos of Wexford (now also in the king's hand), bribed by Murtough Mc Murrough, Dermot's nephew, caused the castle to be destroyed.[1] Fitz Audelin is also said to have disappointed both Raymond and Fitz Stephen by refusing to give them any of the more secure lands near Dublin or Wexford, and leaving to them only the more remote lands on the marches.

John de Courcy.

One adventurous spirit showed his discontent with Fitz Audelin's policy by organizing and carrying out a raid on his own account, which would seem to have been the act of a madman had it not been successful, and which resulted in subjecting a large portion of another province to English domination. This was John de Courcy, whose story is like a wild romance, and would hardly be believed were it not for many solid and enduring facts which testify to its essential truth.

Of his antecedents little is known. He came of a family seated at Stoke Courcy in Somersetshire and was related to William de Courcy (ob. 1176), dapifer of Henry II and at one time

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 337. Wicklow Castle was afterwards restored to the Geraldines, and we find it belonging to the Baron of Naas in 1229: C. D. I., vol. i, no. 1757. It is probable that Ferns, the old royal seat of Leinster, was left at this time in the possession of Murtough McMurrough, who was friendly to the English, and had assisted Raymond at the relief of Limerick early in the year.

Seneschal of Normandy.[1] He probably accompanied Henry to Ireland, as the Song of Dermot expressly says that Henry, while in Ireland, granted to him 'Ulster, if he could conquer it'.[2] Niall O'Loughlin, King of the Cinel Owen, a group of tribes whose king, when strong enough, was recognized as high-king of the whole northern province, had alone among the principal kings of Ireland held entirely aloof from Henry during his visit, and Henry, who was himself unwilling to attempt a winter campaign in Ulster, may have half-jestingly granted a licence to John de Courcy to take the province if he could. As we have seen, the licence originally granted to Richard of Striguil a couple of years earlier is said to have been of a similar half-jesting nature.

His description.

John de Courcy is described as a tall fair man with big bones and muscular frame, of immense strength and remarkable daring. A born warrior, in action ever in the front, ever taking upon

[1] Along with his brother Jordan de Curci, John witnessed a grant by William de Curci, steward of the king, for the souls of his grandfather William de Curci and his father William, to the monks of St. Andrew of Stoke. Hist. MSS. Com., 9th Rep., Part 1, p. 353 b.

[2]
A un Johan Uluestere,
Si a force la peust conquere,
De Curci out a nun Johan
Ki pus i suffri meint [a]han.
ll. 2733–6.

himself the brunt of the danger. So keen a fighter was he that even when in command he would forget the calmness that befits a general and become an impetuous soldier. In private life he was modest, sober-minded, and pious, and gave to God the glory of all his victories.[1]

Such a mettlesome warrior could not but grow restive under the timid and politic rule of Fitz Audelin. Accordingly, in spite of Fitz Audelin, he took the bit in his teeth. He gathered round him some of the garrison of Dublin who were discontented like himself, and with a little band of twenty-two men-at-arms and about three hundred others, supplemented perhaps by some of the Irish themselves,[2] boldly advanced into Ulster, where English arms had not yet attempted to penetrate. He marched rapidly through Meath and Uriel, and on the fourth day—about the 1st of February—he took by surprise the city of Down. This was an ancient ecclesiastical site associated with St. Patrick, and here the saint was believed to have been buried. It was also the chief seat of the kings of Uladh, or Ulidia, i.e. that part of the modern province of Ulster lying to the east of

Advances into Ulster, 1177.

And captures Down-patrick.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 344. John de Courcy was one of those with whom Gerald must have come into contact in 1185–6.

[2] 'Associatis sibi Hyberniensibus illis qui parti eorum favebant': Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 137. According to the Book of Howth (p. 81) John had 700 men at the battle of Down.

the Bann and the Newry river. The king, who was a member of the family called Mac Donlevy,[1] fled, but only to collect his host.

It happened that Cardinal Vivian was in the city of Down at this time on a mission from the Pope, and he endeavoured to make peace between de Courcy and the king, on the terms that the latter should pay tribute to the English and the former retire from the territory, but his good offices were fruitless.[2] In eight days

[1] He is called 'Dunlevus' by Gerald, and the name appears as 'Macdonleue' (representing Mac Duinnsleibhe) in the Song. The members of this family were always killing one another, and which of them was acknowledged king at this moment is hard to determine. See O'Donovan's notes to Four Masters, vol. iii, pp. 30 and 39, which, however, do not seem to clear up the point. At any rate, Rory Mac Donlevy seems to have been in command both in 1177 (Ann. Inisfallen, Dublin MS.; Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 137, where he is called Rodericus rex Ulvestere) and in 1178 (Ann. Inisfallen, Ann. Tigernach). For the ambiguity in the name *Uladh* or Ulster see O'Donovan's note to Four Masters, 1172, p. 7. In the twelfth century the name was (properly speaking) confined to the district represented by the modern counties of Down and Antrim.

[2] Giraldus, v. 340. William of Newburgh, vol i, p. 238, says that Vivian advised the Irish to fight for their country. According to the Gesta Henrici (vol. i, p. 137) Vivian met de Courcy's army while he was journeying along the coast on his way to Dublin. He may have returned to Down with it. He had come to Down from the Isle of Man, where 'Godredum regem legitime desponsari fecit cum uxore sua nomine Phingola (Finnghuala) filia Mac Loclen filii Murkartec regis Hyberniae, matre scilicet Olavi qui tunc triennis

The battle of Down.

Mac Donlevy returned with a huge army, said to number 10,000 men, to recapture the city. Meantime de Courcy had constructed a weak fort in a corner of the city,[1] but he preferred to meet the enemy in the open, on ground chosen by himself. Including his Irish auxiliaries he had perhaps 700 men.[2] A more than Homeric battle ensued, in which John de Courcy, his supposed brother-in-law Almaric de St. Lawrence, and Roger le Poer did wonders. We shall not attempt to describe the battle, for which indeed trustworthy details are wanting.[3] The

erat': Chron. Manniae, 1176. This is a late example of an Irish lady in high position entering into a marriage not recognized by the Church. Her grandfather was Murtough O'Loughlin, King of Ireland (with opposition), sl. 1166, and her father was, I suppose, Melaghlin O'Loughlin, who in this very year (1177) killed Aedh O'Neill, a former king of the Cinel Owen.

[1] 'Exile municipium quod in urbis angulo tenuiter erexerat': Gir. Camb. v. 340.

[2] This is the number given in the Book of Howth.

[3] Gir. Camb. v. 340–2. The fullest account, which reads like the tale of an Irish shanachy, is contained in the Book of Howth, pp. 81–4, in a passage not taken from Giraldus, but probably 'from a translation by Primate Dowdall made in 1551 out of a Latin book found with O'Neill in Armagh' (see the colophon, p. 117). This Latin book seems to have contained the *gestes* of John de Courcy. Mr. Brewer's account of the Book of Howth is very faulty; see Round, Commune of London, pp. 146–9. Roger de Hoveden (ii. 120) says: 'Johannes de Curci, amissa exercitus sui parte magna, victoria potitus est,' and adds that the bishop of Down was taken prisoner but was released at the entreaty of Cardinal Vivian.

Northerners fought with their usual courage, but in the end were utterly defeated. The fight seems to have taken place in the low lands to the north of the city, which were intersected by the swamps of the river Quoile. Probably the narrow strips of firm land gave little advantage to numbers, and superior arms and discipline and, above all, the deadly arrows, turned the scale.

John de Courcy had now a breathing-space in which to fortify himself in his new possession. There can be little doubt that now was the time when the great mote, situated about a quarter of a mile to the north of the cathedral town, was erected, and that it was the *caislen* or *castrum* which he is said to have built at this time.[1] From this centre John de Courcy gradually extended his sway over Uladh, represented now by the counties of Down and Antrim, and over much of Uriel as well. But he was not always successful. Giraldus enumerates five battles, in three of which he was victorious and

His mote-castle.

His five battles.

[1] This mote has in comparatively recent times been supposed to be Rath Celtair or the Fort of Celtar, a hero mentioned in early bardic story. But this has been disproved, and the real situation of Rath Celtair, which was known in John de Courcy's time, shown to have been on the hill where the cathedral now stands (see Eng. Hist. Review, 1907, p. 440, and the Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, p. 137). In a map dated 1729 the mote is called 'English Mount'.

in the other two narrowly escaped with his life. He is, I think, substantially borne out by the Irish annals. The second battle was fought on the 24th of June, also at Down. It is described at some length in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Inisfallen. This time Rory Mac Donlevy, at the head of the Ulidians, was supported by Melaghlin O'Neill, lord of the Cinel Owen, and accompanied by the Archbishop of Armagh and others of the clergy, who bore numerous relics with them to secure the victory. The Cinel Owen and the Ulidians were defeated with the loss of 500 men. 'The Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and all the clergy were taken prisoners; and the English got possession of the croziers of St. Comgall and St. Dachiarog, the *Canoin Phatruic* [i. e. the Book of Armagh], besides a bell called *Ceolan an Tighearna.* They afterwards, however, set the bishops at liberty and restored the *Canoin Phatruic* and the bell, but they killed all the inferior clergy and kept the other noble relics,' which are stated to have remained in the hands of the English.[1] The third engagement was

[1] This passage from the Annals of Inisfallen is quoted in O'Donovan's note to Four Masters, vol. iii, p. 31. The older annals, in recording the names of the chieftains of the Cinel Owen who were killed, virtually corroborate this account. It is curious to note that the possession of the 'noble relics' seems to have been as much prized, presumably for battle-luck, by the victors as by the vanquished.

at Fir-Li, where De Courcy was raiding some cattle, when he was overpowered in a narrow pass and barely escaped with eleven of his knights to his *castrum* at Down. Fir-Li was a tribal district on the Bann in the north of Antrim, and this defeat at the hands of Cumee O'Flynn, lord of this district, is recorded in the Irish annals under the year 1178. The fourth battle was in Uriel, where de Courcy lost many of his men; and the fifth *apud pontem Ivori* (Newry) on his return from England, from which, however, he escaped to his own district victorious.[1]

[1] It is harder to identify these last two battles with the entries in the Annals, but the battle at Uriel is probably that mentioned in the Annals of Ulster in 1178, when John with his knights went pillaging from Dun (Downpatrick) to the Plain of Conaille (i.e. the low lands in Louth, a part of Uriel), and was attacked and defeated by Murrough O'Carroll, King of Uriel, and Mac Donlevy, King of Uladh, at Glenrigh (see, too, Four Masters and Ann. Inisfallen, MS. T. C. D.); and the fight at Newry may be that recorded in the Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin MS.) under the year 1180, where it is stated that John de Courcy plundered Machaire Conaille and Cuailgne and carried off 100 cows, but was pursued and overtaken by Murrough O'Carroll and others and defeated; and John de Courcy fled to Skreen Columbkille to the castle he had himself made there. This would be Castleskreen in Lecale, where the original mote may still be seen. O'Donovan, indeed, identifies the battle *apud pontem Ivori* with the first raid on Machaire Conaille and the defeat at Glenrigh, because Glenrigh was the old name for the vale of the Newry river. But this river was also the boundary of Uriel. Moreover, O'Donovan makes no

The legend of Evora Bridge.

A legend of the St. Lawrence family, as old as the Book of Howth,[1] locates *pons Ivori* at Howth, the ancient seat of the family, and here on the Ordnance Survey Map may be seen the name 'Evora Bridge'. But the legend will not stand examination, and we may suspect that Evora Bridge owes its name to the legend, and lends it no support. The Irish name for Newry was *Iubhar cinn tragha*, 'yew-tree of the head of the strand.' By shortening it to *Iubhar*, prefixing the article (*an*), and adding a termination, the name Newry was evolved. Gerald's form represents the Irish sound without the article.

Causes of his success.

One would like to be able to trace more clearly the steps by which this remarkable man secured his position in Ulidia and dominated the whole country; but Giraldus, who alone throws any light on the subject, expressly tells us that he handles the matter briefly and by way of

attempt to identify the admitted defeat *apud Uriel*, or to trace in the pages of Giraldus the battle described in the Annals of Inisfallen, 1180. The equations suggested above seem substantially to reconcile the authorities. The last two battles, in fact, took place in very nearly the same place, but that *apud Uriel* was after a raid into Uriel and was admittedly a bad defeat, while that *apud pontem Ivori* might be characterized differently according to the sympathies of the writers.

[1] Book of Howth (Car. Cal.), p. 90. The district about Howth and for a considerable distance to the north must have been subdued many years before this battle.

episode, leaving to de Courcy's own writers to tell of his great exploits.[1] We may, however, indicate some of the conditions which probably aided him in accomplishing his purpose. In the first place, we have only to glance at the Irish annals for the period to see that the northern tribes, so far from being ready to combine steadily against the invaders, were incessantly fighting among themselves or with their neighbours in Connaught and in Ulidia. Thus the entries for the years 1177–80 are mainly concerned with the internal disputes of the subordinate tribes of Tir-owen. In 1181 we find the Cinel Connell inflicting a great defeat on Connaught, in which 'were killed sixteen sons of kings of Connaught and stark slaughter of Connaught besides'. Still more to the point, in the same year the Cinel Owen, under their king, Donnell O'Loughlin, 'gained a battle over the Ulidians and over Ui Tuirtri and over Fir-Li around Rory Mac Donlevy and Cumee O'Flynn,' who were hitherto John de Courcy's chief opponents; while again in the

Internal conflicts.

[1] It is not improbable that Giraldus here actually alludes to some such work as was probably the original of those passages in the Book of Howth which tell of the *gestes* of John de Courcy, but in reading these stories as they have come down to us we note the entire absence of the acute observation, critical insight, and general moderation of statement for which Giraldus, by comparison with other writers of the time, is remarkable.

same year other tribes of the Cinel Owen 'took away many thousands of cows' from the same territories.[1] We may reasonably suspect that these chieftains, after this treatment by their neighbours, were ready to invoke the assistance of de Courcy even at the price of submitting to his rule. Indeed the first entry in the next year (1182) goes far to prove the truth of this supposition. It tells of a new hosting of Donnell O'Loughlin to Dunbo in Dalriada[2] (a general name including the same districts in the north of Antrim), and of a battle there in which he was met and defeated by the Foreigners (i. e. John de Courcy's men). Furthermore, there is no record of any subsequent fighting between the Irish of Ulidia and John de Courcy, while on two occasions Rory Mac Donlevy was joined by the English on expeditions against Tir-owen and to Armagh. We may fairly conclude that there was no considerable displacement of the Irish population, but that after the first severe fighting the people settled down peaceably under their new rulers. Secondly, John de

[1] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, Four Masters.

[2] Dunbo is now the name of a townland and parish on the west side of the Bann, and according to O'Donovan Dalriada was bounded by that river. The point is immaterial for present purposes, as it is pretty plain that Donnell O'Loughlin was proceeding against Dalriada, and at one time, at any rate, the Fir-Li extended on both sides of the Bann. See Book of Rights, p. 123, note m.

Courcy strengthened his position by marrying Affreca, daughter of Gottred, King of Man.[1] The Isle of Man was long connected with Ulidia, and the Northmen still lingered in some of the ports on the mainland. When in 1204 John de Courcy was driven out of Uladh, Reginald, King of Man, assisted him, because he was his brother-in-law.[2] He may have received assistance from the Manxmen before. At any rate, by his alliance with the King of Man, de Courcy did much to keep open communication by sea with England and with Dublin, and to secure his position generally.

His marriage.

Thirdly, he was a great builder of mote-castles,[3] and the motes dotted all over the counties of Down and Antrim indicate, more surely than any records which have survived, the precise centres of the manors created by him. Some few, indeed, we can positively connect with the castles mentioned in our scanty records, such as those at Downpatrick and Castleskreen (already mentioned), Mount Sandall near Coleraine, and one in Coleraine itself. Others can be shown with more or less probability to date from his time. Such are

His mote-castles.

[1] According to the Annals of Inisfallen (MS. T. C. D.) this marriage took place in 1180.

[2] Chron. Manniae (Manx Soc., vol. xxii), a. 1204, 1205.

[3] 'Ultoniam undique locis idoneis incastellavit': Gir. Camb. v. 345.

the so-called Crown Rath near Newry, the motes at Antrim, Donaghadee, Holywood, and Dromore, and the castle sites of Castlereagh, Clough, and others. The original castles at Carrickfergus, Carlingford, and Dundrum were on rock sites, and were probably built of stone from the first.

Supported by the Church.

Fourthly, John de Courcy found a strong supporter in the Church, of which he was a munificent benefactor. He introduced Benedictine monks from the abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester into the priory of St. Patrick,[1] as he renamed the church of the Holy Trinity at Downpatrick. He confirmed the see of Down in its ancient possessions, and added largely thereto.[2] He also introduced Benedictine monks, from the priory of St. Andrew endowed by his ancestors at Stoke Courcy, into his new foundation, the priory of St. Andrew in the Ards, County Down.[3] He granted to the monks of

[1] Rot. Pat., 41 Ed. III, pt. 2, m. 11, an *inspeximus* of seven charters. The monks replaced the secular canons, but the church of Down was to be free from all subjection to the church of Chester. Malachi III, Bishop of Down, confirmed the grant, he remaining 'guardian and abbot of the black monks as in the church of Winchester or Coventry'. See Dugdale, Mon. Angl. (ed. 1830), vi, 1124.

[2] John de Courcy's gifts to the see of Down were confirmed by Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and are enumerated in an inspeximus, Rot. Pat., 16 Ed. III, pt. 2, m. 17. See Reeves, Eccl. Ant., p. 164.

[3] Dugdale, vi, 1123. This gift was confirmed by Pope Innocent III, Papal Letters, vol. i, p. 17.

St. Bega of Coupland, also Benedictines, the church of the island of Neddrum, now Mahee island, and two-thirds of the island itself, the remaining third being reserved to the see of Down.[1] He brought Cistercians from the abbey of Furness in Lancashire to Inishcourcy, now called Inch Abbey, near Downpatrick,[2] to atone, it is said, for having destroyed a Benedictine monastery in the neighbourhood; and he established Cruciferi or Crutched Friars in the priory of St. John the Baptist at Downpatrick.[3] He also endowed the house of St. Mary of Carrickfergus to the use of canons of the Premonstratensian order,[4] while his wife, Affreca,

[1] Nine documents concerning Neddrum are summarized in Reeves, Eccl. Ant., pp. 190–4, from a thirteenth-century roll, Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus. See also Dugdale, vi, 1127. Neddrum or Nendrum represents the Irish n-Oendruim, where there was formerly a Celtic monastery, the last abbot of which was 'burned in his own house': Four Masters, 974. The first abbot was Mochaoi (ob. 496, Four Masters), from whom the island was known as Inis Mochaoi or Mahee island. John de Courcy's foundation is ascribed by Bishop Reeves to the year 1178.

[2] Inishcourcy is a peninsula opposite to Downpatrick running into Strangford Lough. Its Irish name was Inis Cumhscraidh. The foundation of the abbey is ascribed to the year 1187: Ann. St. Mary's Abbey, Chart., vol. ii, p. 288.

[3] Rot. Pat., 10 Ed. III, p. 2, m. 35, an *inspeximus* of six charters.

[4] Royal Letters, no. 799; see Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 1227.

in 1193 founded the Cistercian monastery De Jugo Dei, the ruins of which are now known as the Grey Abbey, in Lower Ards.[1] He was also a benefactor of St. Thomas's Abbey[2] and of Christ Church, Dublin.[3]

Not interfered with.

Fifthly, and perhaps this was the real secret of his success, he was let alone. Until the period preceding his final expulsion in 1205 he was not interfered with either by king, justiciar, or brother baron. Though there is no evidence that he was ever created Earl of Ulster, he was *de facto* what the monk Jocelin called him, *Princeps Ulidiae*.[4] He practically exercised *jura regalia* even more completely than the great palatine lords of Leinster and Meath; he had a virtually unlimited jurisdiction, appointed his own feudal officers, created barons, and parcelled out the greater part of the territory among them. Unfortunately we have no authentic list of his barons,[5] and no account of

[1] Chron. Manniae, 1204; Ann. Laud MS., Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 306.

[2] Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 221.

[3] Christ Church Deeds, no. 10; cf. Liber Niger Ch. Ch., no. 9. This deed should be dated 1182–6. Amauri de Obda, one of the witnesses, is probably Almaric de St. Lawrence of Howth, brother-in-law to John de Courcy.

[4] Dedication to his Life of St. Patrick.

[5] Sir John Davies in the Case of the County Palatine of Wexford mentions two of these barons, 'the baron Misset (a mistake for Bisset) and the baron Savage,' but there were many more. Thus King John addressed his

his sub-infeudation, so that its extent is largely a matter of inference.

He had officers of his household just like any king or prince, and from his charters, several of which are known to us, we can tell some of their names. Thus it appears, from his charter granting jurisdiction to the Prior of Down, that Richard Fitz Robert was his seneschal, Roger de Courcy of Chester was his constable, and Adam his chamberlain.[1] Other witnesses to the same charter are William Savage, William Hach' [Hacket], and William Saracen. In the list of hostages required from John de Courcy in 1204[2], the sons of these six individuals are named with three others, and we may be pretty sure that the fathers were among John de Courcy's most trusted vassals.

mandate ordering the arrest of John de Courcy as follows: 'Rex omnibus Baronibus de Ultoniae,' &c.: Pat. Roll, 6 John.

[1] See *inspeximus* of this charter in Dugdale from Pat. Roll, 41 Ed. III, p. 2, m. 11. These three officers witness other charters of John de Courcy. The other witnesses to this charter were William and Henry Copland, William de Curci, Philip de Hasting, Simon Passelew, Richard de Du[n]donenald (i.e. Dundouenald or Dundonald, where there was an early castle now marked by a mote), and Reinard his brother, Walter de Loga[n].

Another charter (Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 222) was witnessed by Henry Purcell, constable, Roger Poer, marshal, and Adam, chamberlain.

[2] Rot. Pat., 6 John, p. 55 b.

CHAPTER XIII

THE OCCUPATION OF CORK
1177–85

To return to the year 1177. After the battle of Down, Cardinal Vivian proceeded to Dublin, where he convened a synod of the bishops and abbots of Ireland. At this synod, according to Giraldus, he made a public declaration of the king's title to Ireland and of the papal confirmation thereof, and enjoined both clergy and laity, under pain of excommunication, to be true to their allegiance. Also, inasmuch as the Irish were accustomed to store their provisions in churches, he gave permission to the English troops, on any expedition, when they could not get food elsewhere, to take what they found in the churches on paying a just price.[1] This custom may seem at first sight curious and the licence given improbable; but there is indepen-

Synod under Cardinal Vivian, 1177.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 345. The Four Masters enigmatically state of this synod of the clergy that 'they enacted many ordinances not [now] observed'. When Vivian landed in England in July 1176 he was compelled to swear that he would do nothing against the king: Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 118. The synod at Dublin is incidentally mentioned, ibid., p. 161.

dent evidence of the custom, and the statement throws light on the conduct of the Irish of Connaught in the face of an English expedition which took place soon afterwards in the same year, and which indeed seems to have been the immediate occasion for the licence. For this expedition we have the independent accounts of the Irish annals, which corroborate in a remarkable way the account of Giraldus. It appears that Murrough O'Conor, one of the sons of the King of Connaught, invited the English 'to destroy Connaught for evil towards his father'. What the exact pretext was we do not know. Possibly we have here only the first example of those jealousies and dissensions among the members of the O'Conor family which broke out again and again during the next century and gave the English full opportunity to interfere and dismember the province. But as not only Fitz Audelin, but also Cardinal Vivian, seem to have countenanced the expedition, we must suppose that some plausible case was made out for an interference in the affairs of Connaught, which certainly appears to have been a violation of the recent treaty between Henry and Rory.

Futile expedition into Connaught.

With or without plausible grounds, however, Miles de Cogan, who was constable of the garrison of Dublin and custos of the city, with a band of 540 men crossed the Shannon and,

guided by Murrough O'Conor, advanced as far as Roscommon and Tuam. The men of Connaught, not daring to oppose the invaders in the field, thwarted this expedition by the double-edged device of creating desolation before it throughout a large part of the province. They 'burned Tuam and the churches of the country besides, for evil towards the Foreigners'.[1] Giraldus explains this entry by his more ample statement. 'The Connaught men,' he says, 'with their own hands set fire to their towns and villages in every direction, and whatever provisions they could not conceal in underground chambers they burned together with the churches; and in order to bring scandal on our people and draw down upon their foes the vengeance of Heaven, they took down the crucifixes and images of the saints and strewed them on the plains before us.'[2] It seems,

[1] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, 1177. The Annals of Tigernach and the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen give a detailed account of the places through which the English passed, and of how they escaped defeat at the Tochar mona Coinneadha (a causeway through a bog in the parish of Templetogher, County Galway) owing to the guidance of Murrough O'Conor.

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 346. The statement that they burned all provisions 'quae hypogeis subterraneis abscondere non poterant', is interesting as apparently indicating that what antiquaries call 'rath-caves' or dry-stone chambers and passages to be found underneath many of the raths or ring-forts of the country, were at this time in use. It has been

indeed, that it was the custom of the Irish, not only in Connaught but elsewhere, to store their corn in churches in the winter, and this custom enables us to understand how the burning of their own churches operated as 'evil to the Foreigners', and renders intelligible the statement of Giraldus as to the licence given by Cardinal Vivian. By these tactics the Connaught men, with whatever ultimate loss and hardship to themselves, gained their immediate object. The English took no prey and indeed barely escaped with their lives, and Murrough O'Conor was blinded by his father in revenge for the expedition.

Henry now recalled William Fitz Audelin, Miles de Cogan, and Robert Fitz Stephen. He may have been displeased at the Connaught expedition, but the grants which he soon afterwards made at the Council of Oxford show that his displeasure was not deep-seated. Fitz Audelin had been in office for only about ten months. At some time during this period, in the presence of Laurence the archbishop and

absurdly taken to refer to crypts under the churches. Most of these churches were probably of wood, and at any rate contained no crypts.

The practice of drawing down the wrath of Heaven on one's foes by strewing crucifixes, &c., on the ground was observed by the Anglo-Norman Archbishop Cumin in his quarrel with Hamo de Valognes, the justiciar, in 1197: Hoveden, iv, 29.

Cardinal Vivian, he had founded, on the king's behalf, a church dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, just outside the western gate of Dublin, and endowed it with a carucate of land there.[1] This was the origin of the famous abbey of St. Thomas, which was served by Augustinian canons of the order of St. Victor, and soon became endowed by Anglo-Norman settlers from all parts of Ireland where they held lands.

Church of St. Thomas the Martyr.

The Register of Deeds of the abbey is one of our most important sources of information as to the extent and progress of the Anglo-Norman settlement up to near the close of the thirteenth century. 'Its abbots were appointed subject to the approval of the king, they became members of his council in Ireland, peers of his parliament there, and administered justice in the court of the abbey.' The Liberty of Thomas-court survived the dissolution, and became the Liberty of the Brabazons, earls of Meath, and the last court-house building still exists to mark the spot where the famous abbey stood.[2]

[1] The charter is transcribed by Leland (vol. i, p. 127) from an ancient roll in the possession of the Earl of Meath. It is witnessed by the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Waterford, and by some of the principal barons of Leinster, and some of the citizens of Dublin. It was confirmed by Henry, probably at the Council of Oxford in the same year. See too, Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 2.

[2] Journ. R. S. A. I. 1892, p. 41.

The *Baculum Jesu.*

One other 'remarkable deed' is ascribed to William Fitz Audelin at this time. He caused a most sacred relic, called the *Bachal Isa*, or 'Staff of Jesus', to be transferred from Armagh to Dublin.[1] The possessor of this staff at Armagh had been regarded as the true successor of Patrick, and it was probably brought to Dublin with the idea of assisting the cathedral church of that city in its claim to supremacy. It was used for centuries in Christ Church for the taking of solemn oaths, but was burned as an object of superstitious veneration at the Reformation.[2]

Council of Oxford, 1177.

Hugh de Lacy was now appointed 'procurator general' of Ireland in place of William Fitz Audelin. This new appointment appears to have been made at the Council of Oxford in May 1177,[3] when a number of appointments were made in the Irish establishment and some new and far-reaching grants were conferred.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 347.

[2] Four Masters, anno 1537, and O'Donovan's note, p. 1446.

[3] In the Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 161, it is said that Henry, apparently while still at Windsor, ordered Hugh, Earl of Chester, to go to Ireland to subdue it for Henry and his son John; but there is no indication anywhere that this Hugh ever went to Ireland, and the whole passage reads like a confused account of what was done at the Council of Oxford, which is told immediately afterwards in a fuller and more orderly fashion: ibid., pp. 162–5. The passage is omitted by Roger of Howden.

In the first place, Henry, with the authority of the Pope, constituted his son John, then a boy in the tenth year of his age, 'King of Ireland,' or perhaps we should say *Dominus* or Lord of Ireland,[1] that being the title which afterwards appears on John's writs. Moreover, the title *Dominus Hiberniae* appropriately expresses the feudal and territorial relation which it was desired to create, and accordingly Henry caused the new donees to whom grants were made at this council to do homage and take the oath of fealty to John as well as to himself for their lands. To these grants we must now turn.

John, dominus Hiberniae.

First of all, he gave to Hugh de Lacy, by a new charter, the whole of Meath for the service, as is stated, of one hundred knights. This grant must have been confirmatory of the previous grant made at Wexford in 1172. The increased service—one hundred knights instead of fifty—may have been due to the fact that Hugh de

Grants of Meath.

[1] The distinction is an important one, but it is not, as is sometimes supposed, that the title of *Rex* is higher in degree than that of *Dominus*. The titles implied distinct relations and presupposed different ceremonies. The former title is national, the latter territorial. Strictly speaking, a person could not be *Rex* without having been elected and crowned, and could not be *Dominus* without having received homage and an oath of fealty from his vassal. Indeed from the feudal point of view it might be more important to be *Dominus* than *Rex* alone. Thus William the Marshal refused to fight for his king (John) against his lord (Philip Augustus): Hist. Guill. le Maréchal, ll. 13060–256.

Lacy was now appointed custos of the crown lands of Dublin and of the northern part of Leinster, now in the king's hand. In later times, however, we find that Meath owed only fifty services to the Crown[1] (or in money value £100), exactly as stated in the Song of Dermot with regard to the original grant, and as provided in King John's confirmatory grant to Walter de Lacy in 1208. In the next place, Henry granted to Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de

Cork. Cogan the kingdom of Cork from Cape St. Brendan (Brandon Head in Kerry) to the river (Blackwater) near Lismore, for the service of sixty knights. From this grant was excepted the city of Cork and the cantred of the Ostmen of the city, which the king retained in his own hands, giving the custody only to Fitz Stephen and de Cogan.[2] In the same way he

And Limerick. granted the kingdom of Limerick (with the exception of the city and one cantred [of the Ostmen], which he retained in his own hands) to Herbert Fitz Herbert, William, brother of Earl Reginald of Cornwall, and Joel de la

[1] See the Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the reign of Edward I: Eng. Hist. Rev. 1903, vol. xviii, p. 505.

[2] This charter is printed in Littleton's Hen. II (App. III to vol. v) from Ware, and translated in Harris's Ware, Antiquities, p. 194. Among the witnesses connected with Ireland were Augustin, Bishop of Waterford, William Fitz Audelin, Hugh de Lacy, Maurice de Prendergast, Hervey de Montmorency, and Robert Fitz Stephen.

Pomerai, for the service of sixty knights. Later in the year, however, Henry granted the kingdom of Limerick to Philip de Braose, as the former grantees renounced the gift on the ground that the territory had not yet been won, and was not subject to the king.[1]

It is, of course, impossible to reconcile these sweeping grants with our ideas of equitable dealing; but it is the business of those who study historical actions to endeavour to understand the point of view of the actors, rather than to weigh their acts in modern scales of equity. It seems probable that Henry was by this time convinced that the Treaty of Windsor was utterly unworkable. It was based, as we have seen, on the hypothesis that Rory O'Conor was a real king, able to enforce his authority over all Ireland outside the portions which Henry retained in his direct dominion and in that of his barons. But events had shown that in this sense Rory was no king, at any rate outside his own province, and hardly within it. The conditions of the treaty could not possibly be enforced. Peace could not be maintained under it, and the aggressive spirit of the Norman barons was only too ready to take advantage of the inevitable dissensions that broke out among the Irish themselves. Henry may well have

[1] Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 172; Roger Howden, vol. ii, pp. 133–6.

thought that the time had come to tear up this futile treaty and devise a new and more hopeful scheme of government. Besides, here was an opportunity to provide a lordship for his favourite son John. So John was made *Dominus Hiberniae*, and the policy was adopted of parcelling out his as yet unconquered territory among trusted vassals as rapidly and as completely as might be, leaving it to them to conquer, organize, and settle the lands thus granted to them. A commencement was made with the kingdoms of Cork and Limerick, or Desmond and Thomond, which had been torn by the recent struggle between the Kings of Connaught and Thomond, and by the intestine quarrel between the King of Desmond and his son.

It would have been more creditable, as well as probably more effective, if Henry had come himself with the armed forces of the Crown to impose his dominion over the length and breadth of Ireland, and to make a settlement which, while inflicting the minimum of hardship on Irish kinglets, might have introduced a better security for order and peaceful progress than any the Irish kinglets could offer. But Henry's energies, great as they were, were fully employed in other parts of his vast dominions, which extended from the North Sea to the Pyrenees. Ireland was only an inconsiderable fraction of these dominions, and accordingly

Henry adopted there the less exacting method which had already been tried, with but partial success it is true, in Wales, of leaving the subjugation of the country in private hands. And this suggests a sounder ground for condemning the method—it was only partially successful in Ireland too.

Custodians of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford.

Henry next appointed custodians of the lands which were in his hand, including, of course, the great fief of Leinster, and named the places where the feudal services in respect of these lands should be paid or performed. He gave the custody of Wexford to William Fitz Audelin, his dapifer, that of Waterford to Robert le Poer, his marshal, and that of Dublin to Hugh de Lacy. Further, he defined the lands that were to be thenceforth appurtenant to each of these cities, and in doing so he seems to have had in view a further reduction of the late Earl Richard's fief.

Apportionment of services.

Thus to the service of Wexford, at this time the *caput* of the lordship of Leinster, Henry appears to have assigned only the following lands: Arklow, the lands comprised in the present baronies which adjoin the eastern and southern coasts of the County Wexford, the baronies of Forth and Idrone in County Carlow, the southern part of the County Kildare, together with Leix, and the districts left to the O'Tooles in the inland parts of the County

Wicklow.[1] These places were presumably intended to represent Strongbow's fief. To the service of Waterford Henry assigned not only all the land between the city and the Blackwater beyond Lismore,[2] but also the whole of Ossory, usually regarded as part of Leinster; while to the service of Dublin he assigned the lands of Offelan, Offaly, and Kildare, as well as Wicklow (i. e. the castle and lands held therewith) and Meath. It is possible that this distribution of services was intended only as a temporary arrangement, made for convenience, while the fief of Leinster was in the king's hand and Hugh de Lacy was custos of Dublin; but in view of the disputes and even warfare that afterwards occurred when William Marshal succeeded to the fief of Leinster, it seems probable that it was interpreted by John, if not intended

[1] The scribe of the Gesta has blundered over some of the names, and the passage is corrupt in places, but, with the exception of the *tenementum Machtaloe* (as to the position of which I am uncertain), the districts above described are, I think, alone included. For *terra G. de Bisroharde* see Song of Dermot, ll. 3114–7 and note. Other less obvious equations are, Fernregwinal, the Fernegenal of the Song, l. 3074; Druua (read Druna): *ui Drona*, Idrone. Utmorthi is not a man's name in the genitive, but represents *ui Muireadhaigh*, usually anglicized Omurethy; and Leghlin: Leighlin was a separate tenement.

[2] It will be remembered that by the Treaty of Windsor the western boundary of the royal demesne at Waterford was fixed so as to include Dungarvan only.

by Henry, as defining the limits of that fief. It may be regarded as some confirmation of this view that Giraldus afterwards mentions with some bitterness that Kildare and the adjacent territory, which had been given by the earl to Meiler Fitz Henry, was taken away from him, and the rugged, woody, and hostile march-lands of Leix given to him by way of exchange. Also, if Offelan, Offaly, and Kildare were at this time added to Meath, the increased service, that of one hundred knights instead of fifty, required, according to the Gesta, by the new charter of Meath, would be intelligible.

The grantees take possession in Cork.

The grantees of the kingdoms of Cork or Desmond, and Limerick or Thomond, set out in company in the month of November, each with a band of retainers, to take possession of their new fiefs. We can readily understand that this promised to be no easy matter. Rory O'Conor, indeed, was not likely to assert his overlordship or interfere in any way, but the provincial kings, Dermot Mc Carthy and Donnell O'Brien, might be expected to have a word to say. We might indeed have supposed that these princes would have united with all their forces against their common foe, but, so far was this from being the case, that, according to an Irish authority, Murtough, son of Donnell O'Brien, actually assisted the foreigners against the King of Desmond, the hereditary foe of his house, and

'accompanied Fitz Stephen and de Cogan to Cork, where they committed many depredations'.[1] This refers to the country about Cork, as there was already a Norman governor, Richard de Londres, in the city, who received them with honour. We are also told that 'the churches of the Plain of Munster were burnt by Donnell O'Brien' and the Norman leaders of the expedition.[2] Thus, as in so many other cases, it was by Irish aid that Dermot Mc Carthy and the lesser chieftains of Desmond were speedily overcome, and Fitz Stephen and de Cogan were enabled to win for themselves, not indeed the whole province at once, but seven of its cantreds near the city of Cork. These seven cantreds were then divided by lot between the grantees, the three eastern ones falling to Fitz Stephen, and the four western ones to de Cogan.[3]

But decline to attempt Limerick.

Having thus arranged matters in Cork, the whole party of adventurers marched to Limerick to place Philip de Braose in possession of his fief. Donnell O'Brien was now no longer a welcome ally, but a formidable opponent, and 'for dread of the Dal Cais (Donnell's tribes-

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, Dublin MS., 1177.

[2] Ibid., and Ann. Tigernach. The latter adds, 'and for dread of the Dal Cais they (the Foreigners) returned without (obtaining their) desire.' This seems to refer to the failure to get possession of Limerick.

[3] Gir. Camb. v. 348.

men),' we are told, the 'foreigners returned without obtaining their desire'. When they reached the river in front of the town, they saw the desperate citizens (presumably Ostmen) once more setting fire to their buildings. Fitz Stephen and de Cogan were ready to attempt to cross the river and storm the town, or, if de Braose preferred, to construct a fortified camp for him on the opposite side of the river. But Philip, though personally brave, yielding to the pusillanimous advice of his friends, preferred to return safe home rather than to face the perils of fortune in so remote and so hostile a land.[1] Twenty-four years later Philip's grant was renewed to his unfortunate nephew, William de Braose,[2] and indeed before that time the city and much of the territory south of the Shannon was in the hands of the foreigners, but for the moment, at any rate, Limerick was left undisturbed.

The adventurers in Desmond for a time fared better. For the space of five years, we are told, they jointly governed the province in peace, restraining by their mild rule the impetuous spirits of the young men on both sides.[3] The

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 349.

[2] Rot. Chart., 2 John, m. 15 (p. 84 b).

[3] In the Register of St. Thomas's Abbey (pp. 201, 209, 211, 220) will be found several charters which show that Gregory, Bishop of Cork, and Reginald, Archdeacon (after-

families of the leaders became united in marriage. Fitz Stephen, indeed, had no legitimate children, but he had two illegitimate sons with him. One of these, Meredith, died soon after the arrival in Cork, but the other, Ralph, was now married to Margarita, who seems to have been the only child and presumptive heiress of Miles de Cogan. Were it not for the illegitimacy of Ralph Fitz Stephen the two houses were likely to become one. Soon after the marriage was effected, however, this prosperous beginning was interrupted by a tragedy which nearly resulted in the destruction of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Desmond. Miles de Cogan, Ralph Fitz Stephen, and five other knights went in the direction of Lismore to meet the men of Waterford in a parley. While awaiting the advent of the latter they were treacherously attacked by Mac Tire, chieftain of Imokilly, and all slain.[1] This massacre led to a general rising

Miles de Cogan and others slain, 1182.

wards bishop), acted at this time with Miles de Cogan and Robert Fitz Stephen in endowing the new foundation of St. Thomas's, Dublin, with churches, lands, &c., in Cork and the neighbourhood.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 350. The account in the Annals of Loch Cé states that besides Miles de Cogan and 'the two sons of Stephen' there were slain 'Mac Sleimne, Thomas Sugach ("the Merry"), Cenn Cuilenn ("Holly-head"), and Remunn.' Who were meant by these names is unknown. Remunn was certainly not Raymond le Gros (as stated in the Annals of Clonmacnois), nor Raymond Fitz Hugh (as supposed by the editors of the Annals of Loch Cé and of

of the Irish of Desmond against the English, and Robert Fitz Stephen was hemmed in by his enemies on all sides, in the town of Cork. Raymond le Gros, however, on hearing of his uncle's perilous condition, came to the rescue by sea from Waterford with a small band. With his usual success, he quickly dispersed the Irish and brought peace once more to the district. Richard de Cogan was now sent by the king to take the place of his brother Miles,[1] and in February 1183 Philip de Barry crossed over to Cork both to aid Fitz Stephen and to undertake the governance of Olethan, which had been granted to him by his uncle. Along with Philip came his brother Gerald, the historian, to whose observation and inquiries we owe much of our knowledge of recent and contemporary events.[2]

Ulster), for the latter witnessed a grant by Philip de Barry, which was also witnessed by Gerald the historian, and must be dated 1183: Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 205. Cenn Cuilinn cannot be a corruption of Reimundus Kantitunensis, as suggested by the editor of the Annals of Loch Cé, for, according to Gerald, he was slain in Ossory c. 1185: Gir. Camb. v. 386.

[1] i.e. as bailiff of the king's demesnes in the city of Cork and its vicinity.

[2] Gir. Camb., p. 351. 'Master Gerald the Archdeacon' [of Brecknock] was one of the witnesses to a grant made at this time by Philip de Barry of two carucates of land adjoining the bridge of Dungarvan [close to the town of Cork] and the site of a mill to the church of St. Thomas, Dublin: Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 205.

We hear nothing more of Robert Fitz Stephen and little more of Raymond le Gros. Probably the former did not long survive the rising of 1182, though he was clearly alive when his nephew Gerald first came to Ireland in 1183.[1] When and how Raymond died is also quite uncertain. He was alive when John came to Ireland in 1185,[2] and must have been dead before the close of the century, when we find his widow Basilia married to Geoffrey Fitz Robert.[3] On the other hand, Raymond can hardly have died before 1189, as otherwise his death would surely be noticed in the Expugnatio, first published when Henry II was alive, and probably in that year.[4] Ware mentions a tradition that Raymond was buried at the abbey of Molana,

[1] Gerald says that his brother, Philip de Barry, came at the end of February 1183 'ad avunculi subventionem', and describes himself as coming in the same ship and 'tam avunculum quam fratrem plurimum consilio juvans'. There is little doubt that it was from Fitz Stephen he derived most of the early story of the invasion. He does not expressly record his uncle's death, but the allusion to Raymond 'in hereditatem patruo succedens' (which appears in the early MSS.) implies it.

[2] 'Reimundus filius Willelmi' is one of the witnesses to John's confirmation charter to St. Mary's Abbey, tested at Dublin. See Chartulary, vol. i, pp. 85, 86.

[3] Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 112. Witnessed by John, Bishop of Leighlin, who was consecrated in 1198 (Papal Letters (Bliss), vol. i, p. 3) and died c. 1201 (Ware).

[4] For the date of the first edition of the Expugnatio, see Mr. Dimock's preface, pp. lvi-lviii.

situated on the Blackwater a little above Youghal, and this tradition may have been well founded, though both Raymond and his wife bequeathed their bodies to be buried in the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, of which they were munificent benefactors.[1] It is unfortunate that, owing to the imperfection of our records, the passing of Raymond, the most brilliant commander and the most picturesque figure in the army of the invaders, should be so obscure.

It is not possible to give a full account of the early sub-infeudation of the 'kingdom of Cork', or even to be sure how far it was carried in the lifetime of the original grantees. In the case of Fitz Stephen, at any rate, it is pretty plain that, besides making large grants out of the three cantreds to the east of Cork originally, with the acquiescence of Dermot Mac Carthy, allotted to him, he made what we may call 'speculative grants' of lands far removed from these cantreds. Thus by his charter to Philip de Barry he granted not only Olethan, but also two other cantreds, to be determined by lot.[2] What these two cantreds were ultimately decided to be, we know from John's confirmatory charter

Fitz Stephen's grantees.

[1] Reg. St. Thomas's, pp. 113 (c. 1184), 111 (c. 1200).

[2] 'Olethan cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et duas alias cantredas in regno Corchaiae prout sorte obvenient ei pro servitio decem militum': Lodge, vol. i, p. 287, and Harris's Ware, Antiq., p. 195.

to William de Barry, Philip's son, made in 1207.[1] They were 'Muscherie Dunegan' and 'Killede', of which the former is roughly represented by the barony of Orrery and Kilmore, County Cork, and the latter was comprised in the barony of Glenquin, County Limerick.[2] To Alexander, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald,[3]

[1] Chart., 9 John, m. 5 (p. 172), Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 340.

[2] Muscherie Dunegan appears as the deanery of 'Muxydonnegan' or 'Muscridonegan' in the ecclesiastical taxations of 1302–6 (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, pp. 277 and 314), and the parishes enumerated are comprised in the barony of Orrery and Kilmore with small adjacent parts of the baronies of Duhallow and Fermoy. The position of 'Killede' was long unknown, but that it is now represented by Killeedy in the barony of Glenquin, County Limerick, appears from an inquisition *post mortem* on the lands of John Fitz Thomas, 10 Ed. I, no. 21: 'Idem Johannes tenuit unum cantredum apud Kyllyde Hy Connil et castrum in eodem comitatu (Limerick) de Johanne de Barry pro duobus serviciis militum.' The ruins of a castle at Killeedy are situated on an artificial mound near a bend of a stream. The mound probably represents the original mote, and is an indication that the grant was utilized probably before the close of the twelfth century at latest. For the identification of Killeedy, co. Limerick, with the Killede of Philip's charter see the writer's paper, 'Notes on some Limerick Castles,' Journ. R. S. A. I., 1909, p. 30.

[3] Alexander Fitz Maurice granted the church, &c., 'de villa mea que vocatur Killie' [Killeigh in Imokilly], to the Abbey of St. Thomas, Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 206. The lands probably passed to Alexander's brother, Gerald, who held the land of Oglassin in this district (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 586, 598), and from him to his son Maurice, who may be regarded as the founder of Youghal.

Fitz Stephen seems to have made a grant in Imokilly which was the origin of the Fitz Gerald property here. Other landholders in Fitz Stephen's time were, in Imokilly, Raymond Mangunel,[1] and Robert and Thomas des Auters or de Altaribus;[2] and in Fermoy, Alexander and Raymond Fitz Hugh.[3] Modern writers speak of Alexander Fitz Hugh as de Rupe or Roche, but in the charters he always appears as Alexander filius Hugonis, and Giraldus calls his brother Raymond 'Hugonides' and seems to include him in the noble band of his own kinsmen.

De Cogan's cantreds

As to the four cantreds assigned to Miles de Cogan on the western side of Cork we have no direct information, but they perhaps included the barony of Muskerry and a broad strip along the coast between the harbours of Cork and Glandore. In 1207 King John made large grants within these districts to Richard de Cogan, Philip de Prendergast, and Robert Fitz Martin, to hold of the king in fee. Also a grant to David de Rupe of the cantred of Rosselither

[1] Raymond Mangunel held Cahirultan, in the parish of Ballyoughtera, Imokilly; Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin, p. 216.

[2] These brothers held Castlecor (Middleton) and Castlemartyr in Imokilly (ibid., p. 319); lands which afterwards were purchased by Richard de Carew (ibid., p. 200).

[3] Alexander and Raymond Fitz Hugh held Kilcummer in Fermoy (ibid., p. 217), and the former afterwards founded the Priory de Ponte (Bridgetown); see the Charter in Dugdale, vi. 1146, and Cal. Charter Rolls, ii, p. 341.

(Rosscarbery).[1] These grants certainly seem to deal with Miles de Cogan's cantreds and to ignore the de Cogan seignory. Perhaps no effective settlement had been made in them during Miles's lifetime, but in any case arbitrary dealing of this sort with lands already granted was eminently characteristic of King John. Some grants by Miles de Cogan have been preserved in the Register of St. Thomas's, but with the exception of the grant of a knight's fee in Cridarim (*Crich Dairine*, i. e. Rosscarbery?) they were all made on behalf of the king and were concerned with houses and lands in or near the town of Cork, i. e. within the crown lands there. Among the witnesses to these charters were the following (who were also probably grantees of his lands): Richard and Geoffrey de Cogan, Richard de Pincheni, William de Bridesal, Roger de Chirchehille, Lucas de Londiniis, who married Leuki, daughter of Robert (p. 207), Roger of Oxford, and Richard Fitz Godebert, who may have been the knight of Pembrokeshire whom Dermot brought back with him in 1167, and whose sons probably took the name of de Rupe or Roche, as their cousins in the County Wexford did.

What became of the seignory of the lands included in the grant to Miles de Cogan and Robert Fitz Stephen has never been elucidated.

[1] Rot. Chart., 9 John, pp. 171–3, where 'Insovenach' is Inishannon, and its port is Kinsale Harbour.

It was indeed the subject of a claim made nearly four centuries later by Sir Peter Carew. However preposterous, after such a lapse of time, was Sir Peter's claim, it seems certain that throughout the greater part of the thirteenth century a Carew and a de Courcy shared in equal moieties the interests of the original grantees.[1]

Can we discover the heirs of the original grantees? We are expressly told that Raymond le Gros succeeded to the inheritance of his uncle, Robert Fitz Stephen, and obtained the custody of the town of Cork.[2] Raymond died childless, and his heir was probably his next brother, Odo de Carew. By what steps the

Fitz Stephen's moiety.

[1] Thus in the roll of services due to the king in the different counties of Ireland c. 1297–8 the total due from Cork is 61½ services. Of these 30 were due from Robert de Carew and the like number from Patrick Courcy, thus making up the original 60 services. The remaining 1½ services were due from Gerald de Prendergast: Irish Exchequer Memoranda transcribed Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. xviii (1903), p. 504; cf. Car. Cal. Misc., p. 232, and Cal. Docs. Irel. 1296, nos. 288, 473. A Patrick Courcy and Robert de Carew (predecessors of the above?) were among the magnates of Cork from as early as 1221: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1001, 2266. In the inquisition on the lands of Gerald de Prendergast in 1251 (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 3203) it was found that he held of the king *in capite* Bellonar and Dufglas (i.e. Beavor or Carrigaline and Douglas, south of the town of Cork) by the service of two knights.

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 350. If, as is generally supposed, Robert Fitz Stephen was a bastard, Raymond's succession to his inheritance must have been due to a fresh grant.

seignory passed from Raymond's heir to the Robert de Carew who was tenant-in-chief in 1221 is obscure, but that it remained in the family for more than a century seems certain.[1] How the seignory was eventually lost to the Carews is perhaps clearer to us than to those who opposed Sir Peter Carew's claim in the latter part of the sixteenth century. An attempted alienation without licence of the cantred of Fermoy by Maurice de Carew, then tenant-in-chief, was held in 1302 to work a forfeiture, as contrary to the newly enacted Statute of Quia Emptores, and David de Rupe (Roche), who held the cantred under Maurice de Carew, became tenant-in-chief.[2] Possibly at this time the *dominium* was more burdensome than it was worth. In the next generation Thomas de Carew, son of Maurice, released to David de Barry the manors of Olethan and Muscry-donegan, and consequently the latter, in the year 1336, became tenant-in-chief of the Crown.[3]

[1] From a confirmatory charter preserved in the Register of St. Thomas's, p. 200, it would seem probable that about 1224 Richard de Carew held the seignory of Fitz Stephen's moiety. Cf. for the date, charter, ibid., p. 213, and the confirmations by Marian O'Brien, Bishop of Cork, pp. 220–1.

[2] See the Cal. Justiciary Rolls for 1302, pp. 383–5, where the proceedings are reported. This David de Rupe was son of Alexander, and grandson of David.

[3] Irish Close Rolls, 32 Ed. III, no. 26. The father and grandfather of this David de Barry were both named David.

De Cogan's moiety.

As to the moiety of Miles de Cogan, his heir was his daughter, Margarita de Cogan, the newly-made widow of Ralph Fitz Stephen.[1] She may possibly have had an only daughter and heiress, perhaps a posthumous child, by Ralph Fitz Stephen, but, as we have seen, her claims for the time appear to have been ignored. How the seignory passed to the de Courcys, as it seems to have done early in the thirteenth century, has not been precisely ascertained. Probably a de Courcy married a de Cogan heiress. Lodge, indeed, states that the Patrick de Courcy, who appears along with Robert de Carew as a magnate in Cork in 1221, married the daughter and heir of Miles de Cogan.[2] But for such a marriage there is no actual authority.[3]

[1] She was given by Robert Fitz Stephen, as her marriage portion with his son, one half of Inismor, i.e. the Great Island in Cork Harbour, and she gave to St. Thomas's the church of Cloenmedli there, i.e. Clonmel in Great Island, not Clonmel Tipperary, as absurdly stated by the editor: Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, pp. 226–7.

[2] Vol. vi, p. 146. The treatment in Lodge, however, of the early pedigree of the barons of Kinsale does not inspire confidence.

[3] It appears, however, from the Pipe Rolls, that in 1212 Thomas Bloet owed 500 marks 'for having all the land which belonged to Milo Cogan in Ireland with his niece (or granddaughter ?) in marriage': Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 422, 452. But this fine was still unpaid in 1227 (ibid., no. 1504), and in that year Kilmohanoc (now Kilmonoge) in Kinalea, which had formerly belonged to Miles de Cogan (Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 4), and appears to have been held by

Thomas Bloet, was granted during pleasure to Richard de Cogan (Cal. Docs. Irel., i, nos. 1537, 1646), and was subsequently treated as an escheat: ibid., ii, nos. 262, 390. Meantime, in 1217, soon after the accession of Henry III, Margery Cogan (presumably the widow of Ralph FitzStephen) offered 100 marks 'to have the land of her inheritance in Desmond': Close Roll, 1 Hen. III, p. 297. This she seems to have obtained, and we find 'Margarita filia Milonis de Cogan' at about this date making a large grant in Rosselethry (Rosscarbery), and confirming her father's grant of Kilmohanoc to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin; see Chartulary, vol. ii, p. 4. It looks as if the de Cogan seignory, overridden by John's grants of 1207, was, in part at least, restored to Margarita on the accession of Henry III. At this time she must have been at least fifty years of age; but she may have been long married to a de Courcy. It was customary for heiresses to retain their maiden names.

CHAPTER XIV

HUGH DE LACY, LORD OF MEATH
1172–86

WHILE John de Courcy was carving out a lordship for himself in Ulster, and Robert Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan were endeavouring to establish themselves in Munster, Hugh de Lacy, the newly-appointed viceroy, was strengthening the position, both in Meath and in Leinster, by building castles and by the wisdom and moderation of his rule. This remarkable man, the fifth Baron Lacy by tenure, was descended from Walter, the first baron, who died in 1089. The family received their name from their original seat at Lassy in the Vire country in Normandy. The principal estates of the Lacy family lay on the borders of Wales at Ewias Lacy, Staunton Lacy, and Weobly. Ludlow Castle also belonged to them.[1] Hugh de Lacy is described by Giraldus [2] as a swarthy man with small black deep-set eyes, a flat nose, an ugly scar on his right cheek caused by a burn,

Hugh de Lacy Chief Governor.

His description.

[1] Dict. Nat. Biog. In 1165–6 Hugh de Lacy held 58¾ knights' fees and had nine tenants without knight service: Eyton, Shropshire, vol. v, p. 253.

[2] v. 354.

a short neck, and a hairy, sinewy body. He was short and ill-made in person, but in character firm and resolute, and of French sobriety. He was very attentive to his private affairs, and in office a most vigilant public administrator. Although much experienced in military matters, he was not fortunate as a general. After his wife's death he fell into loose moral ways. He was very covetous, and immoderately ambitious of honour and renown.

Not much in Ireland prior to 1177.

Upon his first appointment, in April 1172, he did not remain many months in Ireland. He seems to have visited the country again in the early part of 1174, when he erected the mote-castle of Trim, but he left before its destruction by Rory O'Conor in that year. Thenceforward we can trace him in the entourage of the king up to the Council of Oxford in 1177, and he cannot have been long, if at all, in Ireland during these years.[1] He had, however, already made many grants of lands within his lordship.

[1] Hugh de Lacy was at Canterbury on December 29, 1172: Gir. Camb. vii. 69. In 1173 he was at Alençon in April, defending Verneuil in July, and at Caen in December. He seems to have come to Ireland early in 1174: Song of Dermot, ll. 3222–31; but he was at Rouen in December. In 1175 he was at Valognes in April, at Northampton in August, and at Feckenham in October. In 1176 he was at Shrewsbury in January, and at Winchester in April; and in 1177 he was at Reading in April, and at Oxford in May: Eyton's Itin.

His rule.

During his tenure of office we hear of little or no fighting either in Meath or in Leinster. An apparently unsuccessful attempt was made to gain a footing at Clonmacnois, where, however, the churches and bishop's houses were respected, and a battle was fought between Art O'Melaghlin and Melaghlin Beg, rival claimants to the kingship of Westmeath, in which the English joined on the side of the former.[1] Clearly Hugh de Lacy was no mere filibuster, though he was determined to hold with the strong hand and to rule the districts committed to his charge. With this object he erected many castles, of a type similar to the castles of Trim and Slane, both in Meath and in Leinster. He made it his first care, we are told, to invite back to peace the rural inhabitants who had been violently expelled from their territories—probably in the course of the reprisals which followed on Rory O'Conor's hosting of 1174—and to restore to them their farms and pasture lands. His next aim was to restrain the townsfolk and compel them to obey the laws and submit to governance. Thus he soon established peace in the land, and indeed, by his liberal treatment

[1] Ann. Tigernach, Four Masters, 1178. In the latter contest Murtough, son of the Sinnagh (i.e. O'Caharny surnamed the Fox), was slain. This is perhaps noteworthy, as it was at the instigation of 'the Sinnagh' that Hugh de Lacy was murdered in 1186.

and affability, so gained the hearts of the Irish people—winning over even their chieftains to his side—as to give rise to the suspicion that he meditated renouncing his allegiance and usurping the crown of Ireland for himself.[1]

Hugh de Lacy superseded.

That Henry was for some reason dissatisfied with Hugh de Lacy appears from the fact that in May 1181 he took from him the custody of Dublin and sent over in his place to that city John (de Lacy), Constable of Chester, and Richard de Pec, an itinerant justice. One reason given for this change is that Hugh had married, according to the custom of the country, the daughter of the King of Connaught without Henry's licence.[2] Henry was always suspicious of his Irish barons and jealously watchful lest they should get too powerful, and he may have thought that this alliance with Rory O'Conor's daughter, like Strongbow's marriage with Eva Mac Murrough, might lead to the acquisition of too great power.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 353. William of Newburgh also says that Hugh de Lacy aspired to obtain the crown of Ireland for himself, vol. i, pp. 239–40. Early in 1179 some Irishmen came to Windsor to complain of unjust treatment at the hands of Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz Audelin: Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 221.

[2] Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 270. The marriage 'secundum morem patriae illius' was probably some sort of loose union repudiated by the Anglican Church, perhaps 'a Teltown marriage'. It took place in 1180: Ann. Inisfallen (MS. T. C. D.); cf. Gir. Camb.'s account of Hugh de Lacy's character.

But that Hugh de Lacy had really any intention of 'usurping the crown of Ireland' is inconsistent with all we know of his character and actions.

Castles erected by him in Leinster.

Before departing, however, Hugh de Lacy advised with the new governors as to the erection of several castles in Leinster, which we have already mentioned when treating of the sub-infeudation of that lordship. One other castle is expressly named as having been erected by him a little earlier. This was the *castrum Lechliniae*, or castle of Leighlin, and from the description given it is very probable that its site is marked by an important mote, called Burgage or Ballyknockan mote, on the west bank of the Barrow, about half a mile below Leighlin bridge.[1] It appears that Henry had ordered that a fortress should be erected here, but Robert le Poer, the custos of Waterford, who, according to Gerald, was wanting in energy and valour and utterly unfit for border warfare, had failed to carry out the royal command.[2] A namesake now, but

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 352: 'Super nobilem Beruae fluvium a latere Ossiriae trans Odronam in loco natura munito Lechliniae castrum erexit.'

[2] 'A quo Robertus Poer cui regio mandato injunctum id fuerat ante defecerat,' ibid. This sentence follows that last quoted, and has, I think, been misunderstood. According to the Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin copy), Robert Poer was killed in 1178 in an expedition against the O'Tooles of Hy Muireadhaigh (South Kildare). He was succeeded in

a very different man, Roger le Poer, who had fought courageously under de Courcy at the battle of Down, was placed at the head of the garrison here, and gained great renown until he and many of his followers were cut off in Ossory about the year 1188. Of this mishap we have no details, but it is said to have led to a widespread conspiracy of the Irish against the English, and to the destruction of many castles.[1]

Death of Archbishop Laurence.

On November 14, 1180, Laurence O'Toole, the last Celtic archbishop of Dublin, died.[2] Since Henry's visit to Ireland, if not before, Laurence O'Toole, in common with the Irish clergy generally, seems to have loyally acquiesced in the new régime and cordially co-operated with the new rulers. Verifiable facts concerning him during this period are few. He was an assenting

Waterford by William Poer: Gir. Camb. v. 354. In the Pipe Roll, 25 Hen. II (1178–9), p. 67, is the entry 'pro cc. summis frumenti missis Roberto Poherio in Hibernia xx. l. per breve regis'. Corn was sent in the same year to Raymond Fitz William and to the officers of Hugh de Lacy.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 341, 354, 387. The date 1188 is from the Annals of Inisfallen, Dublin MS.

[2] That this was the true date appears from a comparison of the statement in his Life, by Surius, as to the day of his death, Friday, November 14, with the year 1180 as given in the Irish annals, though his death is referred to early in 1181 in Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 270. See Ussher's Sylloge, note to no. 48. Probably the date in the Gesta, *post Purificationem S. M.*, 1181, should really refer only to the seizure of the archbishopric into the king's hand, to which the account of the death of the archbishop is introductory.

party at the Council of Cashel in 1172. He witnessed Strongbow's grant of the abbacy of Glendalough to 'Thomas his beloved cleric'. He saw the commencement of the building of the new and stately fane of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin. In it he buried Richard of Striguil, and to it, when Hugh de Lacy was constable, probably in 1178, he confirmed all its numerous possessions.[1] He was present at the Council at Windsor on the 6th of October 1175, and witnessed the treaty there made between Henry and Rory O'Conor.[2] In March 1179 he attended the general council of Lateran, when he was accompanied by Catholicus and five or six Irish bishops. On their way through England they obtained leave from Henry to go to Rome, on their solemnly swearing that they would seek nothing to the detriment of the king or his kingdom.[3] Giraldus

[1] Chartae Privil. et Immun., p. 2; Cal. Liber Albus, Ch. Ch., no. 42. This deed must be subsequent to 1173, when the predecessor of Eugenius, Bishop of Clonard, died (Ann. Ulster), and therefore subsequent to Hugh de Lacy's appointment as custos of Dublin in May 1177. It should probably be dated May 14, 1178, before the archbishop went to the Lateran Council. It shows that the churches of St. Michan, St. Michael, St. John the Evangelist, St. Bridget, and St. Paul, were all then in existence. Torquellus, the archdeacon, and some of the attesting presbyters have Scandinavian names.

[2] Gesta Hen. i. 102; Hoveden, ii. 83.

[3] Gesta Hen. i. 221. The prelates were assisted in the

states that Henry was afterwards displeased with Archbishop Laurence on the ground that he had obtained some privileges at the Lateran Council inconsistent with the royal dignity, and that consequently Henry detained the Archbishop both in England and in France, and that at length he died at Eu in Normandy.[1] The archbishop did indeed bring back two *privilegia* from Pope Alexander III: one confirming to him and his successors the rights and possessions (enumerated at length) of the see of Dublin, with metropolitan jurisdiction over the dioceses of Glendalough, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory; the other making a like confirmation to Malchus, Bishop of Glendalough, and his successors, in each case threatening spiritual penalties on anybody interfering with those possessions.[2] It is possible that Henry had already entertained the design of uniting the sees of Dublin and Glendalough, and in any case he may have resented this interference of the Pope. But the English Chroniclers, who had better means of knowing the facts, say nothing about Henry's displeasure. They state that the archbishop crossed the sea to the king in

passage by the Crown: Pipe Roll, 25 Hen. II, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex redeemed some pledges for Archbishop Laurence and for Brictius, Bishop of Limerick: ibid. To travel from Dublin to Rome in the twelfth century was an expensive matter.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 357. [2] Crede Mihi, nos. i and iii.

Normandy, bringing with him the son of Rory O'Conor as a hostage for the due performance of the treaty to pay tribute, and that, having obtained leave to return to his country, the archbishop got as far as Eu, where he was detained by illness and after a few days died.[1] It would seem, then, that the archbishop had returned to Ireland after attending the Lateran Council, and that it was on the occasion of a subsequent mission to Normandy[2] with the hostage of the King of Connaught that he died.

According to all testimony, Laurence O'Toole was a just and good man and had the best interest of his country at heart. Forty-six years after his death he was canonized as a saint. But, as has been well remarked, in those times of transition statesmen and not saints were needed,[3] and the next three archbishops belonged to the former category.

Henry at once sent over his officers to take possession of the temporalities of the see of Dublin. This was early in 1181, when the new custodians of Dublin were appointed.[4] In September Henry's nominee, John Cumin (or Comyn, as the name came to be written), a monk of

[1] Gesta Hen. i. 270; Hoveden, ii. 253.

[2] Henry did not leave England for Normandy until April 1180: Eyton's Itin., p. 232.

[3] Stokes, Anglo-Norman Church, p. 199.

[4] Gesta Hen. i. 280.

John Cumin elected Archbishop of Dublin.

the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire, was elected by the bishops and clergy of England and some of the clergy of the metropolitan church of Dublin who had come to England for the purpose. He had at the time only deacon's orders, and was an ambassador, a judge, an officer of the court, rather than a pastor.[1] On March 21, 1182, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin by Pope Lucius III at Velletri, and about the same time he obtained from the Pope a new privilege confirming to him and his successors the possessions, rights, and metropolitan jurisdiction of the see.[2] This document does not, like its predecessor, give a long list of Irish names denoting the churches, vills, and possessions of the see. In the phraseology of Norman law it mentions only the manor of Swords, the vill of Lusk, and the Great Vill

[1] In 1164 John Comyn or Cumin was ambassador at the court of the Emperor Frederic. In 1166–7 he was at Rome with reference to the dispute with Becket (by whom he was afterwards excommunicated), and again in December 1170, at the time of Becket's murder. In 1177 he was sent as ambassador to Spain. We find him repeatedly acting as a justice in eyre and amongst the king's entourage; see Eyton's Itin. of Hen. II. It is expressly stated in the Gesta Henrici (vol. i, p. 287) that John Cumin was honourably received by the Pope, and 'ab eodem factus est cardinalis, ut gratius imponeret ei summus Pontifex munus ordinationis et consecrationis'. So Giraldus was not alone, as Dimock thought, in calling Cumin a 'presbyter cardinalis': Gir. Camb., p. 358, n. [2] Crede Mihi, no. ii.

(Finglas or Tallaght ?), and lumps the rest in general terms. It is noteworthy that it speaks of the see of Wexford, and not of Ferns, the old Celtic seat of the bishopric, and terms the see of Glendalough, *Insularum Episcopatus*. But historically its most important provision was that which forbade any archbishop or bishop from holding synods, hearing causes, or transacting any ecclesiastical business in the diocese without the assent of the Archbishop of Dublin—a provision which led to a lengthened dispute with the Primate of Armagh.

John Cumin's tenure of the see was remarkable for many changes in the direction of promoting its temporal power and welfare. He was instrumental in uniting with it the see of Glendalough, including ultimately the rich lands of the abbey, which were distinct from those of the bishopric. At the time of the synod of Kells (1152) Dublin seems to have been regarded as within the diocese of Glendalough, but there were two bishops in the diocese, the Celtic bishop of Glendalough and the bishop of the Ostmen of Dublin. At that synod, however, Cardinal Papiro, the papal legate, gave one of the four palls to Dublin, 'as being most fitted for a metropolitan city,' and probably as being already in connexion with Rome, and made a division of the diocese. Even at the coming of the Normans, however, all the endowments of the archiepiscopal see were in the near neigh-

Union of the sees of Dublin and Glendalough.

bourhood of Dublin. Glendalough was a purely Celtic monastery, in which the abbot was a more important personage than the bishop, though both bishopric and abbacy were extensively endowed. The absorption of the bishopric and rich abbatial possessions of Glendalough into the see of Dublin was an object early aimed at by the Anglo-Norman rulers, but it was not fully attained until after the death of William Piro, Bishop of Glendalough, in 1214.[1] Even before the union was completed, however, the archbishop became the largest landholder in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and, apart from his prerogatives as a prelate, exercised in his demesne lands all the rights and jurisdiction of a feudal baron.

The collegiate church of St. Patrick.

Archbishop Cumin constituted the ancient parochial church of St. Patrick, which stood outside the walls of Dublin, a prebendal church, and in it created 'a college of clerics of approved life and learning, who should afford by their honest conversation an example of living for all, and by their learning an instruction to the illiterate'.[2] This collegiate church he endowed out of the possessions of the see, and assigned to it thirteen churches, which became the

[1] See Note appended to this chapter.

[2] See the foundation charter in Mason's History of St. Patrick's, Appendix I. It must be dated in or prior to 1191, when it was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Celestine III: ibid., App. II.

original prebends of the new college.[1] He made no change with regard to the church of the Holy Trinity, which still remained the sole cathedral church with a prior and monastic chapter, and it was not until the year 1219 that Cumin's successor, Archbishop Henry de Londres, by a new charter[2] creating a dean and chapter, raised the collegiate church of St. Patrick to the rank of a cathedral. About the close of the twelfth century monastic chapters were out of favour with many English bishops, and there was a movement to substitute secular canons, over whom the bishops would have more control. Hence the raising of St. Patrick's to the rank of cathedral, and hence the anomaly of two cathedral churches in the same diocese. The co-existence of two cathedrals in Dublin, however, led, as might be expected, to disputes as to precedence, rights, and jurisdiction, which were not finally arranged until the year 1300.[3] Archbishop Cumin is said

It afterwards becomes a cathedral.

[1] The names of the original prebends are given in Celestine's Bull. They seem to have been, Swords, Clonmethan, Ireland's Eye (afterwards Howth), Finglas, Clondalkin, Imelach (Tavelach, Tallaght ?), Killesantan, Stahelach (Stahney, Taney ?), Donnachimelecha (now Burgage), Stagonil (included in Powerscourt), St. Nicholas of Dublin, Ballymore (Ballymore Eustace), Donaghmore (Yago).

[2] Mason's Hist. of St. Patrick's, App. IV.

[3] See the *Pacis compositio* in Mason's Hist. of St. Patrick's, App. VI.

to have demolished the old parochial church of St. Patrick, and to have built for his new foundation a new edifice which was dedicated on St. Patrick's Day, 1191. The existing fabric, however, a fine example of Early English, belongs to a somewhat later date.[1] Like Christ Church, it has been recently restored and provided with suitable surroundings by the munificence of a family of which Dublin may well be proud. John Cumin is also believed to have built the palace of St. Sepulchre, close to his collegiate church, as an archiepiscopal residence. This became the seat of his adjoining manor or liberty, as it was called, of St. Sepulchre, wherein the archbishops of Dublin exercised jurisdiction up to recent times. The manor originally embraced the parishes of St. Kevin (now included in St. Peter's) and St. Nicholas Without.[2] The former residence of the archbishops was close to the church of the Holy Trinity,[3] but Cumin appears to have given this up to the

The Palace of St. Sepulchre.

[1] In 1225 protection was granted for four years for the preachers of the fabric of the church of St. Patrick, Dublin, going through Ireland to beg alms for that fabric: Rot. Pat., 9 Hen. III, Cal. no. 1241. This probably affords an indication of the date of the existing building.

[2] For an account of the Manor of St. Sepulchre in the fourteenth century see papers by Mr. James Mills, Journ. R. S. A. I., 1889 and 1890.

[3] Cal. Liber Niger, Ch. Ch., no. 140.

prior and canons for their offices.[1] In moving the archiepiscopal residence from beside the cathedral to the vicinity of his new collegiate church, Cumin was escaping from the jurisdiction of the civil and military authorities, with whom at one time he was in bitter conflict, and making his residence the *caput* of a liberty of his own.

Hugh de Lacy again Chief Governor.

Hugh de Lacy was not long under the cloud of the royal displeasure, and in the winter of 1181–2 he was again entrusted with the government of the country. This time a certain cleric, called Robert of Shrewsbury, was joined in commission with him as coadjutor and councillor, and a witness of his actions on the king's behalf. During the next three years he continued the work of castle-building, and we can trace the sites of his castles by the motes or mounds of earth that still remain at the places indicated in nearly every case. One of these was at Timahoe in Leix, marking an advance, which was perhaps not very permanent, in a hilly district in Queen's County. The land here had lately been given to Meiler Fitz Henry as a recompense for some land which he claimed about Kildare, but it was yet to be conquered. At the same time Hugh de Lacy gave his niece in

[1] Cumin gave to the prior and canons 'aream curie sue ad officinas suas edificandas': Chartæ, &c., p. 10. This probably included the old archiepiscopal residence.

marriage to Meiler,[1] but though some twenty-four years later we hear of Meiler's son, it would seem that he was not the offspring of this marriage, as Giraldus, in the so-called preface to his second edition of the Expugnatio, written about the year 1210, expressly says that Meiler had no legitimate issue.[2] Other castles were built in the valley of the Barrow and in Hugh de Lacy's own lordship, especially in Westmeath, where the castles of Clonard, Killare,[3] Delvin, and others were now erected.

Finally superseded, 1184.

But in the summer of 1184 Henry's inveterate distrust of Hugh de Lacy, combined with his inordinate desire for the aggrandizement of the most worthless of his sons, led to Hugh's final supersession and to a new scheme for the government of Ireland. To this scheme, and to John's visit to Ireland in 1185 as *Dominus Hiberniae*, we shall recur in chapter xvi.

Hugh de Lacy witnessed, as constable, John's Dublin Charter of 1185,[4] and was with John at

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 356.

[2] Ibid. v. 409. The writer of the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal says of Meiler (l. 14134), *il n'aveit nul certein eir*, adding mistakenly, *Quer feme esposée n'out unques.*

[3] The castle of Killare (*Cell-fair*) was erected in 1184: Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé. These annals also state that Art O'Melaghlin was killed treacherously by Dermot O'Brien at the instigation of the Foreigners, and that Melaghlin Beg took the kingship in his stead.

[4] Hist. and Mun. Docs. of Ireland (Gilbert), p. 49.

Ardfinan,[1] but he was probably one of those who, we are told, disgusted with the insolence of the new-comers and the turn which affairs had taken, kept silent in the background and awaited the issue of events.[2] At any rate, after John's departure he was out of favour with the king. By one chronicler he is said to have disregarded the king's order to return,[3] given possibly in consequence of some report from John. Indeed, Irish annals, not, however, a good authority on such a point, state that John, on his return to England, complained that Hugh de Lacy had prevented the Irish kings from sending him either tribute or hostages. However this may have been, it is probable that he afforded the new government little or no assistance. In 1185, indeed, his lordship of Meath was invaded by the Cinel Owen under their chieftain, but they were repulsed by William le Petit, one of Hugh de Lucy's principal feudatories.[4] In July 1186, however, Hugh de Lacy's career was abruptly closed. He had built a castle within the precincts of an old Columban monastery at Durrow, near the borders of Westmeath (in the modern

His murder, 1186.

[1] Black Book of Limerick (Mac Caffrey), p. 103.

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 391.

[3] William of Newburgh, vol. i, p. 240.

[4] Gir. Camb. v. 386. Melaghlin, son of Murtough O'Loughlin, was slain by the foreigners, probably in this raid: Ann. Ulster, 1185.

King's County), and, according to the oldest account, came out to look at it, when a youth with the curious name, Gilla gan-inathair[1] O'Meyey, suddenly cut off his head with one blow of a battle-axe which he had concealed about his person, and head and body both fell into the castle-ditch. The murderer then fled to his foster-father O'Caharny, called *an Sinnach* or 'the Fox', the chief of Teffia, at whose instigation the deed was done.[2]

His disfavour at Court.

When Henry heard the news that a certain Irishman had cut off Hugh de Lacy's head he is said to have rejoiced thereat,[3] for Hugh had in many ways displeased and disobeyed him. We have seen that Henry was angry with him for marrying Rory O'Conor's daughter, and was jealous of his great power and popularity. It was even rumoured that he aimed at making himself an independent king. He was, indeed, probably regarded by the Irish, unfamiliar with feudal relationships, as a king, and some of the Irish annals speak of him as such.[4] John and

[1] *Gilla gan-inathair*, 'the lad without bowels,' a sobriquet perhaps alluding to the extreme slimness which enabled him to outstrip his pursuers. [2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1186.

[3] William of Newburgh, vol. i, p. 240.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1185: 'For it was Hugh de Lacy that was King of Erinn when the son of the King of the Saxons came.' And again, ibid. 1186, when recording his death, 'for he was King of Meath and Breffny and Uriel, and it was to him the tribute of Connaught was paid.' The Four

his followers may have given support to the rumour to hide their own utter discomfiture. But it is very unlikely that Hugh had any aspirations inconsistent with his loyalty to Henry or his position as a tenant of the Crown.

His death a misfortune for Ireland.

Hugh de Lacy was not a Geraldine. Nevertheless, of all the leaders portrayed in Gerald's pages, with the possible exception of Richard of Striguil, he appears to have been the best equipped for the work of transformation taken in hand, and to have had just the qualities required at that moment for ruling Ireland and bringing peace and prosperity to the land. A strong, provident man, who took the necessary steps to make Norman rule effective, and gradually to supplant the antiquated clan system by an organization more fitted to preserve peace and promote progress; but one who at the same time did not despise the native Irish, but did his best to win their confidence and reconcile them to the new order of things. Like Strongbow, he had married an Irish wife and thrown in his fortunes with Ireland. He had made enemies, no doubt, among the chieftains whose power he had curtailed, but he was popular among the people, and his very popularity had aroused the suspicions of the English king. So far as we can see, the battle-axe of O'Meyey

Masters in each case alter the expression, but probably on their own authority.

struck a bad blow for Ireland, and not only for the English colony, when it tumbled Hugh de Lacy's head into the castle-ditch at Durrow.

His mortal remains.

The subsequent history of Hugh de Lacy's remains is curious. In 1195 Matthew, Archbishop of Cashel and papal legate, and John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin, removed the body of Hugh de Lacy from the Irish territory, probably at Durrow, where it had been buried, and solemnly interred it at the Cistercian monastery of Bective in Meath, but his head for some reason was either then or at some previous time deposited in the monastery of St. Thomas in Dublin.[1] A lengthened dispute arose between these two houses for the possession of the complete remains, which, after an appeal to the Pope, was finally settled in the year 1205 by a conclave of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other discreet and venerable persons, in favour of the canons of St. Thomas.[2] Hugh de Lacy, whatever his merits may have been, was not recognized as a saint, and it appears from further documents that the real dispute was not about his relics, but concerned certain lands which had been conferred along with his body upon the monastery of Bective.[3]

[1] Grace's Annals, 1195; Annals, Laud MS., Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 307.

[2] Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 348.

[3] Ibid., pp. 350, 352. The last document is wrongly dated 1240, or the bishop's name is wrongly given. Simon Rochford, Bishop of Meath, died in 1224.

NOTE

THE GRADUAL ABSORPTION OF THE SEE OF GLENDALOUGH

The principal steps by which the bishopric and the abbatial lands of Glendalough were absorbed in the see of Dublin appear to have been as follows :—

In 1185 John 'son of the king', when in Ireland, purported to effect the union of the sees *pro raritate populi et paupertate ecclesie Dublinensis.*[1] This grant clearly met with opposition and was inoperative. In 1192 John 'earl of Mortain and lord of Ireland', while confirming the abbacy of Glendalough and its lands to Abbot Thomas,[2] again granted the bishopric to the Archbishop of Dublin, 'so that when the cathedral church should fall vacant the archbishop should take the bishopric into his hand until he should provide a pastor for it, and that the Bishop of Glendalough should be chaplain and vicar to the Archbishop of Dublin.'[3] John also gave to the archbishop (Cumin) and his successors the half-cantred of the abbey-lands of Glendalough which was next to the archbishop's castle of Ballymore (now Ballymore Eustace),[4] and the land of Coillacht *in baroniam.*[5]

[1] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 4. Crede Midi, no. xxiv.
[2] Chartae, &c., p. 6. Crede Mihi, no. xxxii.
[3] Chartae, &c., p. 6. Crede Mihi, no. xli.
[4] Ibid., no. xxvi.
[5] Ibid., no. xxvii.

Coillacht was a forest region which appears to have extended from the mountains about the upper basin of the river Doddagh to near Tallaght.[1] Later, in the reign of Richard I, John appears to have granted the whole abbacy of Glendalough to the archbishop, as a grant by him to this effect was confirmed by Matthew O'Heyney, Archbishop of Cashel and papal legate, who invoked 'the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul if any one should presume to assail this confirmation'.[2] Nevertheless, Pope Innocent III in 1199, by a Bull, took the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Glendalough, with all the abbey-lands (enumerating them), under his protection, adding a similar comminatory clause.[3] Perhaps in consequence of the Pope's interference, King John in 1200 granted to Thomas, Abbot of Glendalough, for his life, forty carucates of the abbatial lands.[4] In 1213 John granted to Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, both the bishopric and the abbey of Glendalough, saving to Abbot Thomas during his life half a cantred to hold of the archbishop.[5] William Piro, the last recognized Bishop of Glendalough, died in 1214. Probably Abbot Thomas died about the same time. At any rate, in 1215, Innocent III, acting on the alleged intentions of Cardinal Papiro in 1152, that the two sees should be united on the death of the then Bishop of Glendalough, confirmed the transference of the bishopric of Glendalough to the Archbishop of Dublin.[6] The papal sanction to the absorption of Glendalough in the see of Dublin, which was confirmed in

[1] Liber Niger Alani, p. 259. [2] Chartae, &c., p. 10.
[3] Ibid., p. 11. [4] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 78 b.
[5] Ibid., 15 John, p. 194 b. [6] Chartae, &c., p. 15.

1216 by Honorius III,[1] appears to have been obtained through the personal exertions of Archbishop Henry, who went on an embassy from King John to Rome,[2] and who appears to have been armed by a testimonium from Felix O'Ruadhan, Archbishop of Tuam, and his suffragans, as to the intentions of Cardinal Papiro. This document, which reads like a piece of special pleading, ends with the following remarkable statement: 'The church in the mountains (i.e. the cathedral of Glendalough) was held in great reverence from the earliest times on account of St. Keywvyn, who lived as hermit there, but for nearly forty years it has become so deserted and desolate as to be used as a den for robbers, and more homicides are committed there than in any part of Ireland.'[3]

As part of the bargain with the Pope, a hospital for pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, the patron saint of lepers, was founded by Archbishop Henry near the place of embarkation on the Stein at Dublin, and he endowed it partly out of the lands of the see of Glendalough.[4] The spot appears to be marked on Sir William Petty's map of the half-barony of Rathdown as 'Lowzy (i.e. Lazar) Hill'.[5] Thus ended the ancient Celtic bishopric of Glendalough, eaten up by its more stalwart Dano-Norman rival. When the power of the latter waxed faint in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was, however, an unofficial revival of Irish bishops at Glendalough.

[1] Chartae, &c., p. 16.
[2] Ibid., p. 18.
[3] Cal. Christ Church Deeds, no. 20.
[4] Chartae, &c., as above, p. 18.
[5] See Halliday's Scandinavian Dublin, map facing p. 151.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUB-INFEUDATION OF MEATH

At the time of Hugh de Lacy's death, in 1186, the lordship of Meath 'from the Shannon to the sea was full of castles and of Foreigners'.[1] We can in general fix the sites of these castles by the motes which in nearly every case remain. There are upwards of sixty motes, big and little, within the lordship of Meath. They were not, however, all erected within Hugh de Lacy's lifetime, and we shall here notice only those which mark the centres of manors known to have been created by him. The principal castle and manor of the whole lordship was Trim, where, as already mentioned, the first mote-castle was destroyed in 1174. It was soon rebuilt, but the first regular stone castle—the keep of which is perhaps the massive twenty-sided structure still standing—appears not to have been erected until about 1220.[2]

Seignorial manors.

Other seignorial castles in East Meath were:

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1186. Giraldus, speaking of the year 1181, says, 'Hactenus enim Media plurimum, Lagenia parum, fuerat incastellata': v. 355.

[2] Ware's Annals, and compare *ante*, vol. i, pp. 338-42.

RATOATH, where Hugh de Lacy appears to have retained a seignorial manor. He gave the tithes of Ratoath and Dunshaughlin, and a grange at the latter place, to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, before 1183.[1] After the year 1196 Walter de Lacy gave the land of Ratoath to his brother Hugh,[2] who soon afterwards confirmed his father's grant of the church to the abbey of St. Thomas.[3] In the middle of the village of Ratoath is a very fine mote, which has not, I think, been described. It must suffice here to say that it is about fifty feet high and very steep, with a circular flat area on top of about twenty paces in diameter. At the base is a shield-shaped bailey, and both mote and bailey are surrounded with deep fosses and wide ramparts in a typical Norman manner. The whole is a magnificent specimen of a Norman earthwork, and there can be little doubt that it represents the elder Hugh de Lacy's castle.

CLONARD. The castle here was erected in 1182.[4] In 1200 'Clonard (i. e., probably, the new

[1] Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 280. Robert le Poer, who seems to have had the custody of Hugh de Lacy's lands after his death, confirmed this grant: ibid., p. 26.

[2] Gormanston Register, f. 188 dors. The parcels include 'totam terram de Rathtowtht sicut melius et plenius eandem terram unquam tenui, et de incremento Treuthd' (Trevet Grange).

[3] Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 8.

[4] Gir. Camb. v. 356, where 'Clunaret' is the better reading; Ir. *Cluain-iraird.*

monastery) was burned by O'Keary to injure the English who were in it '.[1] This was the site of the famous Celtic monastery of St. Finnian, which, however, appears not to have survived the repeated ravages of Norsemen and Irish. An Augustinian priory, dedicated to St. Peter, was founded here, probably by Hugh de Lacy. Even of this latter foundation nothing has been preserved except an octagonal Gothic font, and the lofty mote of Hugh de Lacy's castle is the most conspicuous object in the deserted place. Clonard, in the twelfth century, and probably up to its burning in the year 1200, was the seat of a bishopric, afterwards removed to Trim. Eugene, the bishop from 1174 to 1194, appears to have acted from the first with the Anglo-Norman settlers in furthering the interests of the Church,[2] and in particular in endowing the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin—to such an extent, indeed, as to impoverish the see of Meath and give rise to a dispute which was compromised in 1235.[3]

KELLS, the seat of a famous Columban monastery, marked still by its early stone-roofed church, its ecclesiastical round tower, and

[1] Four Masters, 1200. O'Keary (*Ua Ciardha*) was chieftain of Carbury (Cairbre), a district separated from Clonard by the river Boyne.

[2] See, for instance, his precept enjoining the payment of tithes : Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 259.

[3] Ibid., pp. 246–52.

its beautiful crosses, was protected by Hugh de Lacy, and was probably the seat of a seignorial manor. 'A castle was in process of erection at Kells' as early as 1176, but in the same year, consequent on the destruction of the castle of Slane, it was razed and left desolate through fear of the Cinel Owen.[1] There is no further early mention of a castle at Kells. Hugh de Lacy granted to the canons of St. Mary at Kells a number of places with Irish names, presumably their former possessions,[2] and he is said to have re-edified the abbey. Walter de Lacy, in the reign of Richard I, granted a charter to the burgesses of Kells, conferring on them 'the law of Bristol'.[3] Hugh de Lacy gave Emlagh, to the north-east of Kells, to Thomas de Craville,[4] but the barony of Kells does not appear to have been granted in one parcel, and we may perhaps conclude that the manor of Kells was retained in Hugh de Lacy's hands.

Similarly in the case of DULEEK. Hugh gave to Adam Dullard (whose brother was Pagan or Payn Dullard) certain lands which we may identify with Dollardstown and Painestown in

[1] Ann. Ulster, 1176.

[2] See this charter in Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi. 1143.

[3] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 10. Walter retained mills in Kells: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 1909.

[4] Song, ll. 3166–73, and note.

this barony,[1] but there appears to have been no large grant made here. There was, however, a very early castle erected at Duleek. It was destroyed at the same time as Trim Castle, and afterwards restored.[2] At Duleek Hugh de Lacy founded a monastery for canons regular, and made it a cell of his favoured abbey at Llanthony. In the same barony at Colp, near the mouth of the Boyne, he also subjected another foundation to the same abbey. Duleek appears as an important manor of Theobald de Verdun,[3] who succeeded the de Lacys in a moiety of Meath, and it is probable that it was a seignorial manor throughout.

DROGHEDA. Though the castle here does not appear to be mentioned before 1203, when John gave 'to Nicholas de Verdun the custody of the [castle of the] bridge of Drogheda, as it was in the king's hand and as Nicholas's father [Bertram de Verdun] held it',[4] there can be little doubt that it was erected by Hugh de Lacy. The above entry shows that the castle was in

[1] Ibid., ll. 3164–5, and note. There is a terraced mote at Dollardstown. 'The land of Adam Dullart and Payn his brother' belonged to the Hospitallers before 1212: Papal Letters (Bliss), vol. i, p. 36.

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 313.

[3] In 1284 he was granted a yearly fair at his manor of Dyvelek; Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. ii, no. 2303. There was a mote at Duleek, but it has been nearly cleared away.

[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 185.

existence about the time of Hugh de Lacy's death, when Bertram de Verdun (who died on the crusade in 1192) was in Ireland. Besides, though the castle was retained as a royal castle when the other seignorial castles were restored to Walter de Lacy, compensation was paid to Walter and his successors, showing that it admittedly belonged originally to the de Lacys.[1]

The castle-site is marked by the 'Mill Mount', a formidable mote commanding the bridge across the Boyne, and connected with the later town walls on the Meath side. So important a site could hardly have been neglected by Hugh de Lacy.

In Westmeath Hugh de Lacy, in 1184, built a castle at KILLARE, within sight of the sacred hill of Usnech, near the spot where stood and still stands the 'stone of the divisions', the 'navel of Erin', where in prehistoric times the five provinces met.[2] This appears to have been at first the principal seat of the lordship

[1] For proof of this and a description of the site see my paper on 'Motes and Norman Castles in the County Louth', Journ. R. S. A. I. 1908, pp. 246–50.

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 356; Ann. Ulster, 1184, where the place is called Cill Fair; Four Masters, 1184 (Cill áir). Giraldus, speaking of the five sons of Dela, says: 'Et eam (Hiberniam) vacuam invenientes, in quinque portiones aequales inter se diviserunt; quarum capita in lapide quodam conveniunt apud Mediam juxta castrum de Kilair; qui lapis et umbelicus Hiberniae dicitur quasi in medio et meditullio terrae positus' (v. 144).

in West Meath,[1] but in 1187 the castle was destroyed and its garrison slain by the Irish.[2] The castle does not appear to have been rebuilt, but the mote remains to mark the site. Lough Sewdy, or BALLYMORE LOUGH SEWDY, as it came to be called,[3] was afterwards the principal seignorial manor in West Meath.

An early seignorial castle was erected at FORE (Ir. *Fabhar*, latinized *Favoria* and, by Giraldus, *Fovera*) in West Meath, where there was an ancient monastery founded by St. Fechin. The castle was one of those seized by King John in 1210 and restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215. It probably owed its origin to Hugh de Lacy, who was in occupation of the place *circa* 1180.[4]

[1] Hugh de Lacy's charter to William le Petit provides that the service due should be performed at Killare: 'inde servicium unius militis pro quibuslibet xxx carucatas [*sic*] terre predicte apud Killar faciendum'; see transcript, Song of Dermot, p. 310.

[2] Four Masters, 1187.

[3] It was restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215; C. D. I., vol. i, no. 612, where it is corruptly printed Loxhundy. The Irish is *Loch Seimhdidhe*, of which Lough Sewdy is a phonetic rendering. The place long remained an important seat of the de Lacys, and a stone castle was built at Ballymore, of which some remains exist. A peninsula, called an island, in the lake seems to have been originally a fort of the O'Melaghlins. This was probably the site of Hugh de Lacy's castle. Abandoned for the stone castle of Ballymore, it was long afterwards, in 1641 and again in 1691, garrisoned and held as the strongest place in the neighbourhood.

[4] Gir. Camb. v. 134, 354.

It appears to have been Hugh de Lacy, and not, as usually stated, his son Walter, who first gave to the monks of St. Taurin at Evreux the churches of Fore and the tithes, and St. Fechin's mill there, and the wood near the town for their habitation.[1] There is a mote at Fore.

Hugh de Lacy also retained in his own hand 'the lake and vill of Dissert (i. e. Lough Ennell, south of Mullingar, and Dysart on its western shore) and one knight's fee around the said vill'. The place was excepted from Hugh de Lacy's grant to William le Petit, to be presently mentioned. Malachi II, King of Ireland, lived at Dun na Sciath (a rath, still known by that name, or as 'Malachi's fort', on the border of the lake in the parish of Dysart), and died at Cro Inis,[2] a fortified island in the lake just opposite, and it is supposed that this was a seat of subsequent kings of Meath. There does not appear to have been a seignorial manor or early castle here, and it may be that Hugh de Lacy reserved it as a residence for the particular O'Melaghlin favoured at the time by him.

The barons of Meath and their lands.

We now turn to Hugh de Lacy's principal feudatories. As in the case of the sub-infeudation of Leinster, our principal authority is the Song of Dermot. The Trouvère may have had

[1] Cal. Docs. France (Round), vol. i, p. 105, where grants to St. Taurin from Walter de Lacy are also calendared.

[2] Ann. Tigernach, Ann. Clonmacnois, 1022.

a document[1] before him containing a list of Hugh's grants. Certainly most of his statements can be verified from other sources, and none of them has been shown to be inaccurate.

Hugh Tyrel.

To Hugh Tyrel, who had been his custodian at Trim, Hugh de Lacy gave CASTLEKNOCK.[2] It would seem, however, that this grant was made by Hugh 'while he was the king's bailiff', and on behalf of the king. Certainly at a later time the three services due for Castleknock were paid to the Crown, and not to the lords of Meath.[3] The site of the castle, a little to the west of Phoenix Park, near Dublin, is well known. It is a fine example of a ditched and ramparted mote, with remains of a wall about seven feet thick enclosing an oval space on the top. On one end of this oval, on a secondary mound, there are remains of an octagonal tower. Hugh Tyrel and his successors were known as 'barons of Castleknock'. The castle was more than once ordered by John and Henry III to be prostrated as a danger to Dublin, but the owner, Richard Tyrel, appears to have avoided compliance with the order, and eventually, on giving his

[1] In l. 3133 the writer expressly says *solum l'escrit*.

[2] Song, ll. 3132–3. The Irish name for the place was simply *Cnucha*, and this name probably referred to the natural hill which rises a little to the east of the mote.

[3] Irish Exchequer Memoranda, temp. Ed. I, Eng. Hist. Rev. 1903, p. 502.

son as a hostage, was allowed to retain its custody.[1]

Jocelin de Nangle.

NAVAN and the land of ARDBRACCAN were granted to Jocelin de Nangle[2] or de Angulo, as the name appears in Latin documents (i. e. of Angle in Pembrokeshire). Jocelin is said to have founded St. Mary's Abbey at Navan in the twelfth century, and the town grew up under the Nangles. Four centuries later we find a Nangle baron of Navan.[3]

Gilbert de Nangle.

To Jocelin's son, Gilbert, Hugh de Lacy granted the barony of Morgallion.[4] His castle was at Nobber, a name which means 'the work' (Ir. *an obair*), and was perhaps what the Irish called the novel kind of castle, perched on an artificial hillock of earth, erected there. Gilbert de Nangle was outlawed in 1196, and the castle and lands reverted to Walter de Lacy, who granted them to his brother Hugh.[5]

Richard le Fleming.

Twenty knights' fees in the barony of Slane were granted to Richard le Fleming, who, as we

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 515, 844, 1047, 1139.

[2] Song, ll. 3144–7. There is a lofty mote at Navan formed out of a hillock of gravel, and a small one at Ardbraccan.

[3] 'The Barnet of Navan, his name Nangle, his hous at the Navan,' Hogan's Ireland in 1598, p. 95; and indeed in 1636, Inquis. Lageniae, Meath, 23 Car. I.

[4] Song, ll. 3142–3. There is a remarkable mote at Nobber.

[5] Gormanston Register, f. 188 dors: 'totam terram de Mackergalinge . . . sicut eandem Gilbertus de Angulo . . . tenuit.'

have seen, erected the mote at Slane near the site of the ancient monastery.[1] In 1598 a Fleming was still Baron of Slane.[2]

Adam de Feipo.

Twenty knights' fees in the barony of Skreen were granted to Adam de Feipo, as well as the fee of one knight in the crown lands at Santry, near Dublin.[3] Hugh de Lacy built a castle for Adam de Feipo in Meath, presumably at Skreen,[4] where there is a mote in the grounds of the modern castle. A small town arose here. The Feipos were barons of Skreen up to the close of the fourteenth century, when an heiress carried the barony to the Marwards. The barony of Deece was granted to Hugh de Hose.[5] His

Hugh de Hose.

[1] Song, ll. 3174–201. For *Crandone* we should probably restore *Slan donat* (as suggested by Mr. Round, Commune of London, p. 142).

[2] Hogan's Ireland in 1598.

[3] Song, ll. 3156–7. For Santry, see Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 95, and Exchequer Memoranda, Eng. Hist. Rev. 1903, p. 502.

[4] Gir. Camb. v. 356. Adam speaks of the chapel of St. Nicholas 'que sita est in castello meo juxta Scrinium': Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 21.

[5] Song of Dermot, ll. 3162–3; Ware, quoting from Hugh de Lacy's charter or a transcript thereof, says that Hugh gave to Hose or Hussy 'all the land del Dies which Shaclin held'. This was clearly Mac Gilla Seachlainn, lord of Southern Breagh: Topogr. Poems, p. 12. The last chieftain of this name mentioned in the Four Masters was slain by Tighearnan O'Rourke in 1171. Cf. a charter from John de Hereford (to whom Hugh de Hose seems to have given lands in the barony): Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 123.

castle at GALTRIM (where the mote remains) was one of those abandoned after the destruction of Slane Castle in 1176.[1] The Husseys, as the name came to be spelled, were still barons of Galtrim in 1598.[2] The barony of Lune was granted to William de Muset (Messet, Misset);[3] and a district in the barony of Lower Kells, including Emlagh, to Thomas de Cravile.[4]

William de Messet.

In West Meath the barony of Magheradernon was granted to William le Petit.[5] His chief manor was at MULLINGAR, where the original mote and later stone castle of the Petits were finally removed in the last century to make way for a jail.[6] The barony was long known as 'Petit's Barony', and as late as 1596 was largely

William le Petit.

[1] Ann. Ulster, 1176.

[2] Hogan's Ireland in 1598, p. 95: 'The barnet of Galtrim his name Hussy, his Hous Galtrim.'

[3] Song of Dermot, l. 3159; cf. Harris's Ware, p. 193. The *caput baroniae* was probably Athboy. In 1213 Peter Messet, 'baro de Luyn juxta Trym,' died, and the inheritance passed to his three daughters, of whom the eldest married Lord de Vernaill, the second Talbot, the third Loundres: Annals Laud MS., Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 312.

[4] Song of Dermot, ll. 3166–73, where *Eymlath began* is Emlagh of St. Becan, and the other places mentioned are in the barony of Moygoish, co. Westmeath.

[5] Song of Dermot, ll. 3134–7.

[6] Eng. Hist. Review, 1907, p. 237; and cf. Inquis. Lageniae, Westmeath, 6 Jac. I, where Thomas Pettit was found seised of the manor of Mullingar, including a water-mill called 'the moate mylle' in the town.

inhabited by Petits.[1] William le Petit was also given Rathkenny in Meath, and some lands in the barony of Shrule, County Longford, and 'Chastelbrec', the position of which is uncertain.[2]

The barony of DELVIN was granted to Gilbert de Nungent (Nugent), 'which the O'Finelans held in the time of the Irish,' for the service of five knights.[3] Gilbert de Nugent is said to have married a sister of Hugh de Lacy, and Hugh built a castle for him,[4] the mote of which remains at Castletown Delvin, close to the later castle.[5] Gilbert de Nugent.

To Richard de Capella, *frater germanus* of

[1] Perambulation of the Pale, Car. Cal. 1596, p. 192.

[2] In 1229 Nicholas le Petit was granted a market at 'his manor of Ratkenny', a fair at 'his manor of Dunboyny', and a free warren 'in the demesne of his manor of Admolinger': C. D. I., vol. i, no. 1673. Was Castlebrack a name give to William's castle at Dunboyne?

[3] Song of Dermot, l. 3158. The charter is transcribed from Sir William Betham's Collections in Butler's Trim, p. 252, and is translated from an old copy in the Clarendon Collection in Lynch's Legal Institutions, p. 150. The original was seen by Ware. Cellach O'Findallan, Lord of Delbna Mor, is mentioned as assisting the foreigners of Dublin in killing Mulrony O'Keary, lord of Carbury. Ann. Tigernach, Four Masters, 1174.

[4] Gir. Camb. v. 356; and Lodge, Westmeath.

[5] The first stone castle at Delvin was probably built after 1220, when a year's service from the land of Meath was ordered to be given to Richard de Tuit 'to enable him to fortify (*firmare*) a castle in Delven': Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 884, 970. This Richard de Tuit was, *jure uxoris*, third baron of Delvin.

Richard de Capella.

Gilbert de Nugent, lands were also given by Hugh de Lacy, but their position is not stated.[1] He succeeded to his brother as second baron of Delvin, and his daughter and heiress carried the barony to the Tuites for many generations.[2]

Robert de Lacy.

RATHWIRE (Ir. *Rath-Guaire*), in the barony of Farbill, was granted to Robert de Lacy, and Hugh is said to have built a castle for him there.[3] The mote remains with considerable foundations of a stone castle in the bailey.

Geoffrey de Costentin.

KILBIXY, near Lough Iron, in the barony of Moygoish, was given to Geoffrey de Costentin, and a castle was erected here in 1192.[4] The mote remains, but nothing else, except the name 'Burgage lands', to testify to the ancient importance of the place. Near by, Geoffrey de

[1] Song of Dermot, ll. 3152–3.

[2] Burke's Peerage, 'Marquis of Westmeath.'

[3] Song of Dermot, ll. 3150–1 and note. Rathwire and Kilbixy were plundered and burned by Mageoghegan in 1450 (Four Masters).

[4] Song of Dermot, ll. 3154–5, where Kelberi and Rath eimarthi are corruptions for Kilbixi and Rathconarti, the latter being the ancient name of the barony now called Rathconrath. The castle is called *caislen Cille Bigsighe* (Ann. Loch Cé, 1192), i.e. the church of St. Bigseach. Walter de Lacy, in what was probably a confirmatory charter, granted to Geoffrey de Costentin 'five knights' fees in the theof of Kilbixi with a castle and fifteen knights' fees in the land of Conemake next adjoining to the said castle, beyond the water of Ethne (the river Inny) by the service of four knights': Harris's Ware, Antiq., p. 193.

Costentin founded a priory of canons regular at Tristernagh.[1]

The cantred of ARDNURCHER was given to Meiler Fitz Henry.[2] It is now a parish, more commonly known as 'Horseleap', in the barony of Moycashel. A castle was erected here in 1192.[3] Its site is well known. As in some other cases, the end of a natural ridge was selected, and this was cut off from the rest of the ridge by a double trench. An oblong mote with flat top, twenty-five by twelve paces, was formed. The summit is about thirty feet above the ditch at the upper side. There is a small raised bailey at one side, defended by a ditch. Two pieces of a massive wall seem to indicate where a bridge crossed this ditch to the bailey.

Meiler Fitz Henry.

To Richard de Tuit was given 'a rich feoffment' including a district about GRANARD, in County Longford.[4] Here, in 1199, he erected a

Richard de Tuit.

[1] The foundation charter is given in Dugdale's Mon. Angl. (1830), vol. vi, p. 1147.

[2] Song of Dermot, ll. 3138–41.

[3] *Caislen Atha an Urchair*. Ann. Loch Cé, 1192. The castle of Kilbixy, where the mote is also of an oblong shape, was erected in the same year.

[4] Song of Dermot, ll. 3148–9. It is probable that Richard de Tuit was also given lands in a more settled district, perhaps at Tuitestown (5 miles to the north-west of Mullingar) and at Sonnagh (3 miles further), where we afterwards find Tuits. In several cases Hugh de Lacy gave lands on the marches of his lordship as well as lands nearer the centre to the same feoffee.

castle as a stronghold against O'Reilly in South Breifny. A high mote is to be seen here with traces of stone buildings on the top. Near Granard, in 1210, Richard de Tuit founded the Cistercian monastery of Larha, now Abbeylara, and in the same year his castle was visited by King John.

It would seem probable, then, that in Hugh de Lacy's lifetime little or no attempt was made to occupy the three western baronies of Westmeath, nor those parts of the ancient kingdom of Meath which are now included in King's County and Longford. Even those districts which were parcelled out among the barons were not all occupied and turned to profit at once. Hugh de Lacy was himself building the castle of Durrow when he was murdered in 1186, and the border castles of Granard, Kilbixy, and Ardnurcher were not erected until the last decade in the century. Indeed, in several districts the Irish chieftains were never entirely dispossessed. The O'Melaghlins were styled kings of Meath for many generations, but they became confined to the barony of Clonlonan. The Mageoghegans in Moycashel, the O'Molloys in Fircall, the O'Caharneys in Kilcoursy, the MacCoghlans in Garrycastle, the O'Farrells in Annaly, and other ruling families, retained to the last their positions as chieftains of their respective tribes.

CHAPTER XVI

JOHN DOMINUS HIBERNIAE
1185

In 1184, while Hugh de Lacy was still justiciar, King Henry prepared to carry out a design which he had long meditated. At the Council of Oxford in 1177 he had, as we have seen, appointed his youngest son, John, 'Lord of Ireland,' and made the new grantees of lands there swear fealty and do homage to John as well as to himself. But John was too young to undertake the government, being then only in his tenth year. Now, in the summer of 1184, Henry sent John Cumin, the new archbishop, to Ireland to prepare for the coming of the prince. He also once more superseded Hugh de Lacy, and in September sent Philip of Worcester in his place with forty men-at-arms.[1] Philip is described as a sumptuous, open-handed man, and a brave

Henry prepares to send John to Ireland.

Philip of Worcester made procurator.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 359. Up to this moment Henry had vainly endeavoured to persuade his son Richard to give up Aquitaine to John: Gesta Hen. i. 311, 319. Gerald says, 'revocato Hugone de Laci,' but if Hugh went to the king he was back in Ireland next year, when he witnessed some of John's charters as constable.

soldier. We shall meet with a Philip of Worcester, presumably the same man, ten years later in Desmond. At this time not much is recorded of him. He revoked some grants of lands which had been improperly alienated by Hugh de Lacy in the north of the present county of Dublin, and restored the lands to their original purpose as mensal lands of the viceroy.[1] By his charter Hugh had power to grant fiefs in the neighbourhood of Dublin, but only while he was the king's bailiff, and to enable him to perform the king's service in Dublin. In March 1185 Philip of Worcester headed an expedition to Armagh, where he exacted a large tribute from the clergy. Hugh Tyrell, who accompanied him, carried off a large cauldron from the clergy, and brought it as far as the town of Louth. Here a fire broke out in the house in which he lodged, and the two horses which had drawn the boiler were burnt, and a great part of the town also. Frightened at this judgement, Hugh Tyrell

Expedition to Armagh.

[1] 'Terras quas Hugo de Laci alienaverat, terram videlicet Ocadhesi, et alias quam plures, ad regiam mensam cum omni solicitudine revocavit': Gir. Camb, v. 359–60. The 'terra Ocadhesi' (O'Casey) was equivalent to the barony of Balrothery West. Hugh seems to have granted all the ecclesiastical rights over this district to the Prior of Llanthony; see note by Bishop Reeves to Topogr. Poems, p. v, and Crede Mihi, lxiv. Cf. too, as to the tithes of Lusk in Balrothery East, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, i. 173. This deed was attested by 'Geroldus archidiaconus de Sancto David' and must be dated 1185–6.

restored the cauldron.[1] The stage in the evolution of morals when even men of light and leading did not scruple to pilfer a convent of monks was coincident with the stage in the evolution of reason when the same men were most subject to the influence of imaginary signs of divine wrath.

On Mid-Lent Sunday, 1185, Henry at Windsor knighted his son John, and sent him to govern his lordship of Ireland.[2] He travelled by the coast-road of South Wales to Pembroke, where a numerous fleet had assembled in Milford Haven to transport him and his army. He was accompanied to this point by Ranulf de Glanville, Justiciar of England, who, in 1182, or perhaps a little earlier, had been appointed his tutor and guardian.[3] A favourable wind suddenly sprang up from the east, which might have been considered a good omen, but by taking advantage of it John had to omit the usual visit to the shrine of St. David—a sinister sign. He sailed

John comes to Ireland.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 132, 360. The former passage indicates that a quarrel broke out within the year between Hugh de Lacy and Hugh Tyrell which caused great disturbance. The Annals of Ulster and Loch Cé, 1185, record that Philip of Worcester, accompanied by the Foreigners of Erin, remained at Armagh for six days in the middle of Lent. Whatever the object of the expedition, it does not appear to have been a regular raid. More probably it was an attempt to interfere in the election to the primacy, which took place in this year.

[2] Gesta Hen. i. 336.

[3] Ibid. i. 305.

on the evening of April 24, and arrived at noon next day in Waterford. He had with him about 300 knights and a large force of horse-soldiers and archers. Among those in the prince's ship was Gerald de Barry, the historian, who had been specially sent by the king to attend his son.[1] This was Gerald's second visit to the island, and, as before, he employed his time well in collecting materials for his Irish works. Among the officers of John's household who came with him to Ireland were Bertram de Verdun, his seneschal, William de Wendeval, his dapifer, and Alard Fitz William, his chamberlain. Others who witnessed his charters were Hugh de Lacy, constable, Philip of Worcester, Gilbert Pipard, and Theobald Walter. It is probable that the two last also came over with John.

Of the new-comers Theobald Walter, Philip of Worcester, Bertram de Verdun, and Gilbert (or perhaps his brother Roger) Pipard received from John about this time large grants of land, and became founders of great Anglo-Irish families. The most illustrious of these, and one conspicuous throughout the whole subsequent history of Ireland, was that of the Butlers, descended from Theobald Walter. He was son and eventual heir of Hervey Walter of Amounderness, in Lancashire. His elder brother, Hubert, afterwards

Theobald Butler.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 380–1.

Archbishop of Canterbury, was at this time one of the king's justices. Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justiciar of England, was his uncle by marriage, and the two brothers appear to have been reared in Ranulf's household, and to Ranulf's influence with John should probably be ascribed the favour shown to Theobald at this time.[1] In spite of statements to the contrary, it is probable that Theobald came to Ireland for the first time with John, and that it was John who gave him the office and emoluments of chief butler.

John's expedition to Ireland was a disastrous failure. So much is clear. Unfortunately, Gerald de Barry, who had such ample opportunities of knowing the facts, tells us little in detail concerning the expedition, though he indicates clearly enough in general terms the chief

[1] That Hubert and probably Theobald were brought up by their aunt and Ranulf de Glanville appears from Hubert's charter to the Praemonstratensian House at West Dereham: Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi, p. 899; and cf. Norgate's Angevin Kings, ii. 332, note. Theobald's relations are indicated in his foundation charter to the Cistercian house at Arklow (where he also held a fief from John, perhaps granted at this time): Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi. 1128. His mother was Matilda de Valognes, and his second wife, mother of Theobald Walter II, was Matilda de Vavasor: Rot. Pat., 9 John, p. 74 b. By a former wife he had a daughter, Beatrice, who married (1) Thomas of Hereford and (2) Hugh Purcell, baron of Loughmoe; Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin. Another daughter married Gerald de Prendergast: Inquis. P.M., 36 Hen. III.

Insolent treatment of Irish princes.

causes of its failure. At Waterford, immediately on John's arrival, the leading Irishmen of the neighbourhood, who had hitherto been loyal to the English and had lived peaceably, came to welcome the king's son as their lord and to give him the kiss of peace. But John's Norman retinue treated them with derision, some even rudely pulling their long beards in ridicule of the alien fashion. This irresponsible levity had its natural effect. The Irishmen, deeply incensed, betook themselves and their families to Donnell O'Brien, and disclosed to him and to Dermot Mc Carthy, and even to Rory O'Conor, the treatment they had received, adding that the king's son was a mere stripling surrounded and counselled by striplings like himself, and that from such a source there was no prospect for Irishmen of good government, or even of security. Influenced by these reports, these three chief kings of the south and west of Ireland, who, we are told, were prepared to wait upon John and offer him their submission as they had previously done to Henry, were induced to take a very different course. Laying aside for the moment their interminable quarrels, which had hitherto given opportunity to the advance of the foreigners, they formed a league together, and unanimously determined to defend with their lives their ancient liberties. This example was followed by the other native chieftains, who all

held aloof from John and his giddy court.[1] 'We speak what we do know and testify what we have seen,' says Gerald solemnly, and we can believe him. A proud and sensitive people never willingly submits to the rule of a master, however mighty, who despises them.

But of course this rude plucking of the beards was only a symbol of that want of consideration for the native Irish which exhibited itself in more harmful ways. Continuing with the causes of the failure of the expedition, Gerald says: 'Contrary to our promises, we took away the lands of our own Irishmen—those who from the first coming of Fitz Stephen and the earl had faithfully stood by us—and gave them to our new-comers. These Irishmen then went over to the enemy and became spies and guides for them instead of for us, having all the more power to injure us because of their former familiarity with our ways.'[2]

Friendly Irishmen deprived of their lands.

It is to be regretted that Gerald was not more explicit, but a careful consideration of John's acts in Ireland at this time, so far as they are known, tends to confirm and further elucidate this general statement. Almost the only military measure known to have been taken by John was the erection of castles at Tibberaghny, Ardfinan, and Lismore.[3] Tibberaghny is on the

John's aggressive policy.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.
[3] Ibid. v. 386. The erection of castles at Tipraid

borders of Ossory, north of the Suir and east of Carrick. Ardfinan and Lismore are near the frontiers of the territory known as the Decies. Motes remain at Tibberaghny and Lismore, probably indicating the exact positions of John's castles. Ardfinan was probably a 'promontory castle', situated on a precipitous rock, where the remains of a later, but still early, castle stand, commanding a ford over the Suir. The castles seem to have been erected with a view to holding the Decies, and as bases for an advance into parts of Munster not yet occupied. The Decies, though already regarded as crown lands —at least from the Blackwater beyond Lismore eastwards—had probably not yet been completely settled by the Normans. Melaghlin O'Faelain, the native prince, whose life had been spared at the taking of Waterford, was one of the first to submit to Henry on his arrival, and ever since he seems to have been true to his oath of fealty, and to have lived peaceably. It is probable that he was left undisturbed in part, at any rate, of his territory. But now it appears that he was one of those whom John's retinue treated disrespectfully, and who complained to

Fachtna and Ard Finain is mentioned in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1185. Ardfinan as well as Lismore was within the territory of the Deisi, which may be regarded as coterminous with the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore.

Donnell O'Brien and the princes of Munster.[1] We may therefore infer that his territory was confiscated at this time, and that he was one of those to whom Gerald alludes when saying that John took away lands from faithful Irishmen and gave them to new-comers. This presumably was John's immediate answer to the disaffection which his inconsiderate conduct had provoked.

But further, it seems clear that, as a reply to the opposition shown by the princes of Munster, a reckless immature scheme was adopted for annexing the whole of the eastern part of Munster, where hitherto the native princes had been left undisturbed by the adventurers in Cork. From the Irish annals, as well as from the brief statements of Giraldus, we learn that out of his newly-erected castles John sent plundering parties into Munster. On two occasions, once in a neighbouring wood and once when taking a prey in the direction of Limerick, part of the garrison of Ardfinan was cut off by Donnell O'Brien, whose forces, however, suffered a defeat at Tibberaghny, in which two of the petty chieftains of Thomond fell.[2] Before the year

Scheme for annexing Ormond.

[1] O'Faelain is expressly named in the Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin MS.).

[2] Gir. Camb. v. 386; Ann. Loch Cé, Four Masters, 1185. Gerald mentions that an Irish noble named Oggravus was slain with many others at Tibberaghny. He was clearly Ruaidhri O'Gradha (O'Grady), who with Ruaidhri

was out Dermot Mc Carthy and several others were slain by the men of Cork and the followers of Theobald Walter on the occasion of a parley near Cork.[1]

No general league against John.

It is clear, however, that no general league to take common action against the invaders can have been formed at this time between the Kings of Connaught and Munster, such as might perhaps be inferred from Gerald's language. The Irish annals state that in this year Rory O'Conor 'came from his pilgrimage', i. e. came out of the monastery of Cong, to which he had retired two years previously, when he left the reins of government in the hands of his son, Conor Maenmoy. Aided by Donnell O'Brien and the English of Cork, he destroyed the west of Connaught, both church and territory, in the endeavour to recover his kingdom from his son.

Intestine commotions in Connaught.

O'Conaing 'was slain by the Foreigners in the slaughter of Tipraid Fachtna': Ann. Loch Cé. These annals also state that 'the foster-brother of the son of the king of the Saxons' was slain in an engagement with Donnell O'Brien. Who was this foster-brother? In 1182–3 John was reared in Ranulf de Glanville's household, and Ranulf's sons would be John's foster-brothers. John's grant of Ormond was made to Ranulf de Glanville and Theobald Walter jointly. Ranulf, the justiciar, may have accepted this speculative grant for one of his sons: and if we suppose that he sent this son to join Theobald in his venture, and that he was John's foster-brother slain by O'Brien, the hypothesis would seem to fulfil the conditions.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 386; Ann. Loch Cé, Four Masters, 1185.

A temporary peace was patched up between father and son, on the basis of a division of Connaught. This would of course involve the withdrawal of Donnell O'Brien from Connaught, and is probably the peace to which Gerald alludes. Later on in the year, however, Conor Maenmoy's son, Cathal Carrach, plundered and burned Killaloe in retaliation for the churches which the men of Munster had burned, and Thomond was pillaged by Conor Maenmoy at the head of some English mercenaries. These latter then came as far as Roscommon with Conor, 'who gave them 3,000 cows as wages.' Finally Conor Maenmoy assumed the entire kingship,[1] and next year expelled his father Rory. The league, then, must have consisted merely in a common resolve not to do homage or renew the oath of fealty to John. The peace, however, set free Donnell O'Brien, with whom Gerald's friends in Cork had probably been

[1] In the Annals of Loch Cé these entries are placed before, and in the Four Masters after, the entry as to John's visit to Ireland. Probably Rory agreed to the peace when Donnell O'Brien had to withdraw to meet the aggression of the garrisons of Ardfinan and Tibberaghny. Probably, too, the mercenaries, whom we hear of for the first time in Connaught, were deserters from John's army. In the Gesta Hen. (i. 339) it is said of John's army, 'Maxima pars equitum et peditum qui cum eo venerant ab eo recesserunt et ad Hibernenses contra eum pugnaturos perrexerunt.'

acting, and enabled him to concentrate the Irish forces of Munster against John's aggression.

But we have more certain evidence of John's intentions regarding Munster than is afforded by these encounters with Donnell O'Brien.

John's grant to Theobald Walter.

John's grant to Theobald Walter of the large district afterwards known collectively as Ormond or East Munster, was tested at Waterford, and must be referred to this year. By it the borough of Killaloe and five and a half cantreds in 'the land of Limerick' were granted to Theobald and his uncle by marriage, Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justiciar of England, for the service of twenty-two knights.[1] These cantreds appear to have been mentioned by name in the original deed, and the names are repeated in an agreement made between William de Braose and Theobald Walter in 1201 touching the lands of the latter, to which we shall have to recur.[2] They included the south-western extension of the present King's County and the whole of North Tipperary, with a portion of the County Limerick. At the time this was a speculative grant of lands not yet acquired, but before the close of the

[1] See Carte's Life of Ormond (ed. 1851), Introd., p. xlv. In Carte's time the original deed was at Kilkenny. Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciar, remained in that office up to 1189. He went on the crusade and died at the siege of Acre in 1190: Norgate, Angevin Kings, ii. 279. It is highly improbable that he ever came to Ireland.

[2] Facsimiles Nat. MSS. of Ireland, vol. ii, no. lxvii.

reign of Richard I, at any rate, Theobald seems to have been firmly seated in his new possessions.[1] It may be conjectured that a similar speculative grant in Southern Tipperary was made at this time to Philip of Worcester, and was the origin of the claims which, as we shall see, he made a few years later to lands in this district.[2]

John's movements traced by charters.

Of John's personal movements in Ireland at this time little is known. A few points are, however, fixed by his charters, which indicate that he followed pretty closely his father's route. His grant to Theobald Walter was, as we have seen, tested at Waterford. At Lismore, where he built a castle, he granted a charter to the Cistercian monastery de Valle Salutis at Baltinglas, confirming to the monks the lands which they had of the gift of Dermot Mc Murrough before the coming to Ireland of Earl Richard.[3] At Ardfinan, where he built another castle, he made a grant of four ploughlands

[1] Theobald's charter to the Cistercian monastery of Wodeny (Irish, *Uaithne*, variously anglicized Wetheny, Abbey Owney, Abington, &c.) was made in the reign of Richard I, circa 1197 : Chartae, &c., p. 11, and cf. Carte's Life of Ormond, Introd., p. xlii. His principal seat seems to have been at Nenagh, néar which he founded a priory of St. John Baptist circa 1200.

[2] Philip of Worcester had a castle at the mote of Knockgraffon probably from 1192 : Journ. R. S. A. I. xxxix (1909), p. 275.

[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, anno 1337, p. 402.

near Limerick to the cathedral church there.[1] Perhaps this was to ingratiate himself with the clergy there, in view of his hostilities with Donnell O'Brien. At Tibberaghny, where he also built a castle, he granted a charter of confirmation to the new Cistercian house founded by Hervey de Montmorency at Dunbrody, and gave it a letter of protection.[2] At Kildare he confirmed his father's charter granting Dublin to the men of Bristol.[3] Here he also confirmed William, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, in his barony of Naas, and probably at the same time confirmed William's grant to his brother Gerald (ancestor of the earls of Leinster) of lands about Maynooth and Rathmore.[4] At Dublin, where he probably stayed most of his time, he granted to John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors the bishopric of Glendalough,[5] but this attempted union of the sees was for the time ineffectual. Also to the abbey of

[1] Black Book of Limerick (Mac Caffrey, p. 103). The editor strangely fails to date this charter, which is the oldest in the book.

[2] Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 166, 168.

[3] Hist. and Mun. Docs. Ireland (J. T. Gilbert), p. 49.

[4] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 5. See too, Gormanston Register, f. 190 dors. One of the witnesses was Reimundus filius Willelmi. For John's grant to Gerald, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, see Red Book of Kildare, H. M. C., 9th Rep., App., p. 265; and Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Ireland, vol. iii, pl. lx.

[5] Chartae, &c., p. 4, and Crede Mihi, p. 5.

St. Thomas a carucate of land at Wicklow.[1] Incidentally we learn that he made several grants of valuable plots of land and messuages outside the western gate of Dublin to members of his household and others.[2] Moreover, to this time should probably be referred the extensive Pipard and de Verdun grants in the present county of Louth. To these we shall recur in the next chapter.

John returned to England on December 17,[3] having been in Ireland for nearly eight months. In this brief period he had driven the Irish into open opposition, alienated the sympathy of the Anglo-Norman colony, dissipated the treasure entrusted to him, and frittered away his army to no purpose. He had shown no capacity either to govern with prudence or to fight with success.

Results of his visit.

[1] Ibid., p. 5; cf. Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 166.

[2] The *porta occidentalis* itself was given by the citizens at John's request to Henry Mausanure, one of John's men: Hist. and Mun. Docs. (Gilbert), p. 56. To William de Wendewal, his dapifer, John gave a messuage between the church of St. Thomas and the curia of Bertram de Verdun, also very probably the gift of John at this time: Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 417. To Philip of Worcester he gave land in front of the gate of the abbey of St. Thomas, ibid., p. 407. To Henry Tirel land near Kilmainham, ibid., pp. 383, 392. John had already provided for his chamberlain, Alard Fitz William, by a grant of lands near Waterford and 'entertainment' at various houses, 'by the service of six pair of lambskin gloves and one thabur': Lynch's Legal Institutions, p. 93.

[3] Ralph de Diceto, ii. 39.

Gerald, whose words, from the point of view of the invaders, are full of wisdom and good sense, explains in general terms, though clearly enough, the causes of John's failure to quell the storm which his contemptuous behaviour and reckless grants had stirred up.

Further causes of his failure.

The custody of the maritime towns and castles (i. e. principally, Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and perhaps Cork), with the adjacent lands and tributes, was given to men who, instead of using the revenue for the public good and the detriment of the enemy, squandered it in excessive eating and drinking. Then, though the country was not half subdued, both the civil and the military command was given into the hands of carpet knights, who were more intent on spoiling good citizens than in attacking the foe—men who, reversing the politic maxim of the ancient Romans, oppressed those who had submitted while leaving the enemy unscathed. So that nothing was done, either by making incursions into the enemy's country, or by the erection of numerous castles[1] throughout the land, or by clearing the 'bad passes' through the woods, to bring about a more settled state of things. The bands of mercenaries were kept within the seaport towns, and, imitating their captains, gave themselves up to wine and women, so that the march lands were left

[1] 'Crebra castrorum constructione.'

undefended, and the intermediate villages and fortified posts were abandoned to the fire and sword of the enemy. Meanwhile the old soldiery, feeling themselves, in the growing insolence of the new-comers, despised and out of favour, kept quietly in the background, awaiting the issue of all this rioting and disorder. Thus the country went from bad to worse. Even in the towns, where alone there was the semblance of order, the veteran soldiers of the conquest, instead of being led against the enemy, were harassed with lawsuits. In this way the power of the colony was enfeebled, while the enemy became more daring in revolt; and thus were affairs mismanaged until the king recalled the new-comers as incompetent, not to say cowardly, and, turning once more to the men already experienced in the conquest of the island, entrusted John de Courcy with the administration of affairs.[1]

In all this Gerald evidently avoids laying the blame expressly on John. He had nothing good

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 390–2. The account given in Gesta Hen. i. 339 is in the main consistent with Gerald's: 'Sed ipse Johannes parum ibi profecit, quia pro defectu indigenarum qui cum eo tenere debebant, et pro eo quod stipendia militibus et solidariis suis dare noluit, fere amisit totum exercitum suum in pluribus conflictibus quos sui fecerunt contra Hibernienses. . . . Et sic praedictus Johannes, filius regis, ad opus suum omnia retinere cupiens, pro defectu auxilii terram Hiberniae relinquens, in Angliam rediit.'

to say of him, so he says little or nothing. In the circumstances, we could hardly expect him to be more outspoken. Indeed, for a writer who was a courtier, and whose works were immediately published, we are astonished at his boldness in some passages, both here and elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVII

JOHN DE COURCY AND EASTERN IRELAND

1186–1205

§ 1. The Succession of Chief Governors

The period from the death of Hugh de Lacy to the beginning of John's reign is one of great obscurity in the history of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland. Gerald de Barry, to whom we owe so much of our knowledge of the previous years, now fails us, and the great series of state papers and enrolments do not yet come to our help. Even the succession of justiciars is uncertain, for the list given by Walter Harris and followed by Gilbert and a host of writers is not correct. In tracing the progress of the English we must, to some extent, work backwards from their better ascertainable position at the commencement of the thirteenth century. For the stages of that progress we have some indications in the Irish annals, which record the erection of a few castles and mention certain English expeditions, but these annals are largely taken up with the inter-tribal

An obscure period.

wars and plunderings of the Irish themselves, which seldom had any permanent effect beyond weakening the Irish and giving the English opportunity to extend their influence. No useful purpose would be attained by mentioning these conflicts, except so far as they may help to explain English action, or had permanent results. A few charters which have been preserved throw a more certain light on some points, while recent archaeological research enables us to indicate with precision the principal manorial centres, and define more closely than has hitherto been done the area of Anglo-Norman rule.

We shall first endeavour to ascertain who were the chief governors or justiciars of Ireland during this period.

The succession of chief Governors.

On the failure of John's mission to Ireland in 1185, Henry, as we have seen, appointed John de Courcy as justiciar, and he remained in this capacity up to at least the beginning of the reign of Richard I.[1] Who succeeded him, and at what precise date, is uncertain. In the list of chief governors compiled by Walter Harris, and followed by Gilbert and other writers, 'Hugh de Lacy the younger, lord of Meath,'

[1] John de Courcy was justiciar after the time when John, the king's son, became Earl of Mortain; see Henry Tirel's charter, Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 383, and Grant from Dublin Commonalty, Hist. and Mun. Docs. Ireland, p. 56.

appears as justiciar from 1189 to 1191. But Hugh de Lacy the younger was never lord of Meath, and it is very improbable that he was made justiciar at this time. His father, Hugh de Lacy, left at his death, by his first wife, Roheis de Monemue (Monmouth), two sons, viz. Walter, who afterwards succeeded to the lordship of Meath, and Hugh, who was created Earl of Ulster in 1205, and a daughter, Elayne, who married Richard de Beaufo.[1] Walter and Hugh were apparently minors at the time of their father's death, and Henry at once made arrangements for his son John to return to Ireland, and take the fief of Meath into his hand. John had got as far as Chester with this object, when Henry, on learning of the death of his son Geoffrey of Brittany, recalled him,[2] and sent Philip of

Hugh de Lacy the younger not justiciar.

[1] Dict. Nat. Biog. Richard de Bellofago was a witness to Hugh de Lacy's grant of Skreen to Adam de Feipo: Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 21. The family appear to have settled in Ireland. Almaric de Beaufo possessed the de Burgh Castle of Esclone in County Limerick in 1215: C. D. I., vol. i, no. 585; and Isabella de Beaufo appears in 1245 as owner of the castle of Clonard in Meath: ibid., no. 2762. By his Irish wife, the daughter of Rory O'Conor, Hugh de Lacy had a son, William, who afterwards appears as a disturber of the peace and was ultimately killed by O'Reilly of Breifny in 1233 (Four Masters). Three brothers of William de Lacy, named Sir Henry Blund, Thomas Blund, and another, are mentioned, C. D. I., vol. i, no. 1203. Probably Hugh de Lacy's widow married a Blund.

[2] Gesta Hen., vol. i, p. 350. Henry appears to have had a scheme at this time for crowning John king of Ireland,

Worcester to Ireland in John's place.[1] John's grant of Meath to Walter de Lacy was made in the reign of Richard I,[2] and it is probable that Walter did not get actual possession until 1194, when he did homage to Richard I for his lands, and when, we are told, he 'received the lordship of Meath and apprehended Peter Pipard, justiciar, with his comrades'.[3] If this be so, it is impossible to believe that Hugh de Lacy, Walter's younger brother, could have been justiciar in 1189–91. Moreover, the authority for this statement seems to be the Book of Howth, but the account there is quite untrustworthy, and actually confuses Hugh de Lacy the elder with his son of the same name.[4]

and had obtained from Pope Urban III his sanction and a crown of peacocks' feathers embroidered with gold (Rog. de Hoveden, vol. ii, pp. 306–7), but it came to nothing.

[1] Chronicle of St. Werburg's Abbey, Chester, as quoted in Ware's Annals.

[2] Gormanston Register, f. 5 dors. For Richard's confirmatory grant see ibid., f. 5.

[3] Hist. Guill. le Maréchal, ll. 10297–304, and Marlburgh's Chron. 1194: 'Walterus de Lacy recepit dominium de Media et Petrum Pipard justitiarium cum suis militibus deprehendit' (T.C.D. MS. E, 3, 20, p. 135). Was Peter Pipard intriguing with John against Walter de Lacy, just as Meiler Fitz Henry afterwards intrigued against William the Marshal?

[4] Carew Calendar (Book of Howth), pp. 105–17. If the whole passage be read attentively it will be seen that the original compiler—adding, as he says, to the account of Giraldus some passages from an English translation made in

The next justiciar, according to Harris, was William le Petit in 1191. This may be correct, but the authority is not forthcoming. He was a powerful baron in Meath, and, at any rate, appears as justiciar later. Then in the same year and up to 1194, when Peter Pipard is said to have been justiciar, Harris places William the Marshal as governor. When we come to narrate the doings of this great man we shall see how extremely improbable it is that he was governor, or indeed in Ireland at all, at this time. In short, our scanty authorities only warrant us in stating that Peter Pipard was probably justiciar in 1194;[1] that Hamo de Valognes was justiciar from about 1196 to shortly before the beginning of John's reign;[2] and that Peter Pipard

William the Marshal not governor.

1551 by Primate Dowdall out of a Latin book found with O'Neill at Armagh—has attempted to weave into the narrative of Giraldus some traditional stories as to the death of Sir Almaric de St. Laurent, the taking of John de Courcy, and the subsequent career of the latter; but in doing so he has hopelessly confused the two Hughs. Probably he intended the elder Hugh throughout. The confusion becomes quite manifest when the murder of the elder Hugh at Durrow is spoken of as a just punishment for his malicious treatment of John de Courcy (pp. 116–17).

[1] Marlburgh's Chron. (as above). The entry on the Coram Rege Roll relating to Peter Pipard's justiciarship (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 116) probably refers to 1198–9.

[2] Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, 1196. In the Charter Roll of the 1st John, Hamo de Valognes is repeatedly referred to as having been justiciar. He was apparently still justiciar in 1198: Papal Letters, vol. i, p. 3.

and William le Petit were 'joint justiciars' for a short time in 1198–9,[1] until Meiler Fitz Henry was appointed by King John.[2] Meiler appears to have been justiciar continuously up to about the autumn of 1208, and Harris's list is again faulty in making Hugh de Lacy lord-deputy in 1203 to 1205.[3] There are many mandates to Meiler as justiciar during this period. Hugh de Lacy was, no doubt, carrying out the king's wishes (and his own) in chasing John de Courcy from Ulster, but this did not make him governor or displace Meiler.

§ 2. John de Courcy as Justiciar and in Ulster

John de Courcy Chief Governor.

Of John de Courcy's justiciarship we have few particulars. Giraldus tells us in general terms that under his vigorous rule the kingdom began

[1] Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, p. 144; vol. ii, p. 28. This charter must be dated after Sept. 1198, when John, a Cistercian monk, was consecrated by the Pope Bishop of Leighlin: Papal Letters, vol. i, p. 3. Simon de Rocheford, another witness, is called 'elect of Meath'. He is usually stated to have succeeded Eugenius in 1194, but it is pretty clear that he was not consecrated Bishop of Meath until about 1198–9.

[2] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 98 b. There are mandates to Meiler as justiciar before this date. The earliest is dated Sept. 4, 1199. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 90.

[3] Perhaps this second tenure of office was also suggested by the apocryphal story in the Book of Howth: Car. Cal., p. 111.

to enjoy a more extended peace. The peace, however, was confined to the settled districts in the east of Ireland, as our author immediately goes on to say that de Courcy did not permit his troops to lie idle, but led them to the furthest parts of the land, to Cork and Connaught, and feared not to try the doubtful chances of war, which were sometimes in his favour and sometimes against him. This leads to the exclamation, 'Would that he had shown the prudence of a general as well as the bravery of a soldier!'[1]

The Irish annals say nothing about the expedition to Cork, which was presumably to aid the settlers there, but under the year 1188 give some details of the expedition to Connaught. This province was still torn by the conflict between Rory O'Conor and his son Conor Maenmoy. The peace patched up between them in 1185,[2] on the basis of a division of Connaught, did not last long. Before the year was out Conor Maenmoy 'assumed the sovereignty of Connaught', and next year he expelled his father.[3] The new king was hostile to the English, and in favour of taking active measures against them. In 1187 he made an attack on Meath, burned the newly erected mote-castle of Killare, and killed all the English who were in it.[4] It was

His expedition to Connaught, 1188.

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 392.
[2] *Supra*, p. 101.
[3] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, 1186.
[4] Four Masters, 1187.

probably to punish him for this outrage that John de Courcy, as justiciar, made an incursion into Connaught in the following year. He was accompanied by Conor O'Dermot, an illegitimate son of Rory O'Conor,[1] and we may perhaps infer that the pretext of the incursion was the reinstatement of Rory O'Conor. The expedition was unsuccessful, however. Donnell O'Brien on this occasion came to the support of his former enemy, Conor Maenmoy, and the English, after fruitlessly burning some churches, endeavoured to return by way of Tirconnell. They got as far as Ballysadare, when, on learning that the Cinel Connell were assembled to oppose them, they once more turned through Connaught, and after suffering some loss in the Curlew Mountains they were forced to leave the country 'without a whit of triumph'.[2] Clearly John de Courcy was outgeneralled, and it is possible that he was soon afterwards superseded.

When John de Courcy surrendered his office of justiciar he no doubt retired to his lordship of Ulster, the southern part of which, at any

[1] This Conor, grandson of Dermot, seems to have been a son of Rory O'Conor. It was at his instigation that Conor Maenmoy was killed next year. He is then called in the Annals of Loch Cé (1189) 'own brother' of Conor Maenmoy; cf. Ann. Ulster, 1189. He may have been one of Rory's numerous illegitimate progeny. He was killed in the same year by Cathal Carragh, son of Conor Maenmoy.

[2] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, 1188.

rate, was already fully organized. As early as 1188 we read of the foreigners of the castle of Magh Cobha [1] making an incursion into Tirowen, and in 1189 Armagh was plundered; but no permanent settlement was made there, and the Newry river and Glenrigh may be regarded as the boundary of the lordship in this direction. Indeed, in many of the inland parts of the present counties of Down and Antrim the Irish tribes seem to have accepted the new order of things and to have been undisturbed.

For several years we hear little more of John de Courcy, and that 'little' has already been indicated in chapter xii. We may leave him building his castles, founding his religious establishments, and governing his lordship like an independent monarch, while we take a rapid survey of the other great feudal lordships and

[1] Magh Cobha was the name of the plain extending from Dromore to Newry inhabited by the tribe of Ui Eathach Cobha, a name now preserved in the baronies of Iveagh. Perhaps the great mote at Dromore represents John de Courcy's castle. The castle of 'Maincove' is mentioned in the confirmation by Innocent III of John de Courcy's charter to St. Andrew de Stokes: Papal Letters, vol. i, p. 17. It was rebuilt in stone in 1252 (Ann. Ulster; C. D. I., vol. ii, no. 124), and demolished by Brian O'Neill in the following year: Ann. Ulster. It was restored c. 1260: Irish Pipe Roll, 45 Hen. III. See Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Ireland, pt. ii, pl. 73. The river Lagan, which flows by Dromore, was in Magh Cobha. See Hogan's Onomasticon.

districts in the east of Ireland, and, so far as our scanty materials allow, note the progress made by the English colonists during the two decades that followed Hugh de Lacy's death. We shall then describe their expansion in Munster, and their dealings in Connaught during the same period.

§ 3. English Uriel

Uriel.

Between Ulster and Meath lay the Irish district of Oirghialla (anglicized Uriel), roughly equivalent at this time to the modern counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan. The eastern portion of this district was overrun as early as 1176 by the English of Meath, and after 1177 by John de Courcy from Ulidia, but probably no organized settlement was made in it, except at Drogheda, and perhaps at Dundalk, until after John's visit to Ireland in 1185. At that time, or soon afterwards, John seems to have treated the modern county of Louth as already conquered, and to have granted two large fiefs in it to two of his followers, while reserving a considerable slice for the Crown.[1] To Bertram de Verdun, his seneschal, he gave a district now represented by the barony of

[1] References to the authorities for the statements in this section as to the Anglo-Norman settlement in Louth will be found in my paper on 'Motes and Norman Castles in Co. Louth', Journ. R. S. A. I. 1908, pp. 241–69.

Dundalk, and perhaps the eastern half of the barony of Ferrard as well, and to Roger (or perhaps to Gilbert) Pipard he gave the barony of Ardee. Certainly this barony was afterwards held along with the parish of Donaghmoyne, in Farney, County Monaghan, by Roger, brother of Gilbert Pipard. The king retained the barony of Louth in his own hand, and portions of it were granted from time to time to smaller holders. The church-lands of Iniskeen, Dromiskin, Termonfeckin, Mellifont, and Monasterboice were, as usual, not interfered with. The abbey of Mellifont, founded by Donough O'Carroll in 1158, was now at the height of its fame, and here in 1189 died Donough's son, Murrough, the last king of undivided Uriel, and here in 1193 Dervorgil, the *teterrima causa belli*, ended her days at the age of eighty-five.

Bertram de Verdun.

Bertram de Verdun was made custodian of the Bridge of Drogheda. This expression would seem to include the castle of the bridge, often afterwards mentioned. This castle stood on the mote which still exists on the Meath side of the river. It was probably erected by Hugh de Lacy the elder to guard the bridge, and came into John's hand on Hugh's death. It was afterwards retained as a royal castle, and rent by way of compensation was paid to Walter de Lacy and his successors for more than a century. When the town was walled on the Meath side,

the town walls were carried up the steep river bank to join the wall of the castle-bailey, and the mote and bailey then probably occupied the southern salient of the town walls.[1] At some subsequent time the wall on the eastern side was altered so as to include St. Mary's Church and a larger portion of the town. More recently the place was fitted up for barracks, but with all the changes of centuries the original mote and bailey plan has been in all essentials preserved up to the present day.

The *caput* of the de Verdun barony of Dundalk was at Castletown, about a mile to the west of the town, where an important mote marks the site of the first Norman castle. This mote has been supposed to be the *dún delga* of Cuchulainn, one of the principal figures in the Red Branch cycle of tales. It is possible that it occupies the site of an older Celtic fort, but as it stands it is essentially a Norman structure.[2] There was an ancient fishing-village at Dundalk before this, but 'the new vill' or 'Stradbally (street-town) of Dundalk' owed its origin to the Anglo-

[1] This may be inferred from the murage grants, that of 1318 being 'in subsidium ville predicte claudende usque ad muros castri nostri ejusdem ville': Hist. and Mun. Docs. Ireland, p. 413. At the present day the remains of the town wall join the wall of the bailey on the west side.

[2] See my paper, 'Motes and Norman Castles in Co. Louth' (as above), pp. 256–61.

Norman settlers, and to the protection afforded by the castle-town. Bertram de Verdun remained in Ireland after John left at the close of 1185, when Gerald de Barry was his guest.[1] The position of his house just outside the walls of Dublin, was long marked by the name 'Curia Bertrami'.[2] He is said to have founded the hospital of St. Leonard at Dundalk for Cruciferi, but how far he exploited his lands in Uriel is uncertain. He accompanied Richard I on his crusade and died at Joppa in 1192. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, about whom little has hitherto been known. A remarkable document, however, preserved in the Gormanston Register, explains how Hugh de Lacy the younger obtained lands from Thomas de Verdun in the north of the present county of Louth, and throws light on the methods of expansion contemplated by the settlers. This document is, in the first place, an acknowledgement that Thomas de Verdun had given to Hugh de Lacy in frank marriage with Thomas's sister Leceline de Verdun the moiety of his land in Uriel, retaining, however, to himself and his heirs the castle of Dundalk and five knights' fees in its vicinity; and, in the second place, an agreement to divide equally between the parties whatever they may acquire in the 'land of war' in their

[1] Gir. Camb. i. 65.

[2] See Gilbert's Hist. of Dublin, vol. i, p. 239.

respective parts of Uriel.[1] Hence, probably, the division of the barony into Upper and Lower Dundalk.

Thomas de Verdun died in 1199, presumably without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas. The latter, in 1203, was given the custody of 'the bridge of Drogheda as his father held it',[2] and soon afterwards he obtained seisin of all his father's lands in Ireland.[3] He was the ancestor of a distinguished Anglo-Irish house, and his grandson, John de Verdun, by his marriage with Margaret de Lacy, one of the two granddaughters and co-heiresses of Walter de Lacy, became entitled to a moiety of the lordship of Meath.

Roger Pipard.

The *caput* of Roger Pipard's barony was at Ardee, where a great mote known as 'Castle-

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 189 dors. This agreement must be dated between 1192 and 1199. The latter clause runs as follows: 'Et quicquid prefati Thomas et Hugo de Lacy poterint conquirere in terra gwerre in partibus suis terre de Ergallo totum inter se dimidiabunt sicut dimidiauerunt inter se terram pacis.' For the date of Thomas de Verdun's death I can only refer to Gilbert, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, p. 66, note.

[2] Liberate, 5 John, p. 59.

[3] Rot. Claus., 7 John, m. 23 (p. 38). His principal manors were Dundalk and Clonmore; the latter was in the barony of Ferrard. One of his feudatories was Henry de Wotton, to whom he granted five knights' fees in the hilly district north of Dundalk: Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. i, p. 65.

guard', though much mutilated, in all probability marks the spot.[1] Roger was brother of Gilbert Pipard, who accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185, and may have been the original grantee,[2] and of Peter Pipard, justiciar in 1194, and he was himself a trusted officer of King John. He founded the priory of St. John the Baptist at Ardee.[3] In 1193 he erected the castle of Donaghmoyne, where a strongly-defended mote, bearing the ruins of a later stone castle, still excites the wonder of the visitor by its size and strength.[4] Roger Pipard was a faithful servant of King John, and was made seneschal of Ulster and custodian of the castle of Rath (Dundrum), after the disseisin of Hugh de Lacy

[1] This mote as figured in Louthiana (by T. Wright, 1748) shows the foundations of an octagonal keep surrounded by an octagonal parapet or wall on its summit. It was encircled by two ditches and ramparts, and had an earthen wall or approach crossing the ditches and running up the mote.

[2] Gilbert Pipard accompanied Richard I on his crusade, and died at Brundusium : Gesta Ricardi, p. 150.

[3] This foundation is placed by Ware in the year 1207.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1193. In the year 1244 it was enclosed or fortified with stone, *do chumhdach do chlochaibh* : Ann. Ulster. The ruins at present existing may well date from this time. The earthworks consist of a lofty mote surrounded by a deep fosse and wide rampart. The western end is further defended by a second fosse and rampart, and an excavated pond. At the eastern side is a lofty bailey, strongly fortified, and beyond this a second one at a lower level.

in 1210. For about a century he and his representatives were lords of Ardee. He died in 1225. His great-grandson, Ralph Pipard, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, surrendered all his Irish lands to Edward I.

Among the feudatories of Roger Pipard were Ralph de Repenteni, lord of Drumcar and Killany, now parishes at the east and west extremities of the barony; Ralph de Vernun, lord of 'Balisconan' (including Stabannon), whose daughter, Cecilia, married Geoffrey des Auters. Other tenants or sub-tenants were Hugh de Clinton (Clintonstown and Drumcashel in the parish of Stabannon), Geoffrey de Hadeshore, Peter de Maupas (Mapestown), and Robert Mor, all bearing names for many years distinguished in the County Louth.[1]

Barony of Louth.

In John's barony of Louth the castle was already in existence in 1196, when it and the town were plundered and destroyed by Niall Mac Mahon and the Ulidians.[2] The castle was soon rebuilt, and in 1204 Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar, was ordered to take the city of Louth into the king's hand, and make what improvements he could in it.[3] The castle was probably situated on the mote which still exists near the

[1] These and other names may be gleaned from among the benefactors of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

[2] Ann. Inisfallen, Dublin MS., 1196.

[3] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 38; Rot. Claus., 6 John, p. 16 b.

glebe-house, and which appears to have been connected with the town trench. We read also of two subordinate manors in the neighbourhood, Castlefranc and Ays, the *capita* of which are now represented by the motes of Castlering and Mount Ash. In the eastern part of the barony of Louth the old Celtic monastery of Dromiskin had long ceased to exist, but the church-lands there were recognized as a manor belonging to the Archbishop of Armagh. Among the knights who followed John in 1210 to Carrickfergus were Robert de Mandeville and Ralph Gernon. To the former he seems to have granted the lands known from him as Mandevillestown[1] (now corruptly Mansfieldstown), and perhaps the latter was the first grantee of the manor of Killincoole, which, together with Gernonstown (now Castlebellingham), was held by a family of that name for centuries.[2] The first grantee of the manor of Darver is uncertain.[3]

[1] See Close Roll, 13 Hen. III, m. 9; Calendar, vol, i, no. 1677, where 'Lune' stands for 'Luveth', and cf. nos. 1284 and 1681.

[2] Richard, son and heir of William Gernon, was a tenant *in capite* of the Crown in 1229: Cal. Docs. Ireland, i, no. 1729, 38th Rep. D. K., p. 72.

[3] Prior to 1286 the Manor of Derver was held by Richard of Exeter as tenant *in capite* of the Crown: Irish Pipe Roll, 16 Ed. I, 37th Rep. D. K., p. 35. A member of the family of Babe held it from the close of the fourteenth century to Stuart times.

§ 4. Meath

Meath.

Hugh de Lacy's murder in 1186 was probably an act of private revenge, and does not appear to have been followed by any general outbreak in Meath. His lands were taken into the king's hand, and it was probably not until 1194 that Hugh's son Walter got possession.[1] Walter continued his father's work of feudal organization, renewed the grant which had already been made of 'the law of Bristol' to the burgesses of Trim, and, perhaps for the first time, gave a similar charter to the burgesses of Kells.[2] To his brother, Hugh de Lacy, he gave the barony of Ratoath, and at the same time the confiscated lands of Gilbert de Nangle, in the barony of Morgallion.[3]

Walter de Lacy.

Hugh de Lacy, junior.

Simon de Rocheford, Bishop of Meath.

The first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Meath was Simon de Rocheford (1198–1224). He founded an Augustinian priory at Newtown near Trim, the picturesque ruins of which still remain, and for about three centuries the chapel of the priory served as the cathedral church of the diocese. It was probably after the year 1200, when Clonard was burnt by the Irish, that the

[1] *Supra*, p. 112. [2] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 10.

[3] Gormanston Register, f. 188 dors. *Supra*, pp. 76, 84. John's confirmatory charter, as transcribed in the same Register, is dated December 4 a. r. 10 Richard I (1198), 'apud [In]sulam Andh[elys].'

episcopal seat was moved here. Simon de Rocheford did much to consolidate and organize the diocese. In early times there were several bishops in Meath. As elsewhere, they were tribal rather than diocesan, but the rural deaneries of Meath may be taken as representing the ancient bishoprics. The policy of consolidation began with the Synod of Kells in 1152, but Simon de Rocheford carried it further by ordaining that 'in the churches of Trim, Kells, Slane, Skryne, and Dunshaughlin, which were at one time episcopal sees in Meath, but are now heads of rural deaneries, for the future archpresbyters be appointed'.[1]

During all this period we hear of no serious fighting with the native tribes. The whole of East Meath and much of West Meath had been parcelled out amongst Hugh de Lacy's barons, and the whole lordship was studded with mote-fortresses. The Irish inhabitants seem in general to have lived quite contentedly under their new lords. The late ruling family, the O'Melaghlins, still claimed to be kings of West Meath, but their power appears to have been gradually confined to the barony of Clonlonan. Almost the only recorded disturbance arose from outside. In 1187 Conor Maenmoy, who had expelled his father Rory from Connaught, made an

Castle of Killare.

[1] Wilkins's Concilia, i, 547.

unprovoked incursion into West Meath, and, assisted by Melaghlin Beg, burned and destroyed the castle of Killare and killed its garrison.[1] It is doubtful if it was ever rebuilt, but the position in the west of the lordship was strengthened by the erection of mote-castles at Rathconarty (now Rathconrath) in 1191, and at Ardnurcher and Kilbixy in 1192.[2] The two last were in lands granted to Meiler Fitz Henry and Geoffrey de Costentin respectively, and in process of time they were replaced by stone castles and small towns grew up under their protection. At Tristernagh, near Kilbixy, Geoffrey de Costentin, about the year 1200, founded a priory of canons regular.[3] In the same year Richard de Tuit erected a castle on a large mote at Granard in the present county of Longford, 'as a stronghold against O'Reilly of Breffny.'[4] This may be taken as the limit of the colony in this direction, though some other mote-fortresses were built in the south-eastern baronies of County Longford,

Other castles.

[1] Four Masters, 1187. [2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1191, 1192.

[3] Ware, quoting from the Register of Tristernagh.

[4] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), Ann. Loch Cé, 1199. The mote is about 40 feet high, and still retains traces of stone foundations round the top surface. There is a small bailey attached, and the whole is nearly surrounded by a mutilated earthen rampart. O'Donovan says that about fifty years before he wrote the arched vaults of a castle, built of cut stone and well cemented, were found within the mote: Four Masters, 1262, note o.

then considered part of the ancient kingdom of Meath. A few years later Richard de Tuit founded the Cistercian abbey of Larha, near Granard. We do not know exactly when the mote at Athlone was erected to guard the important ford across the Shannon against the O'Conors, but it was probably before the year 1199, when Cathal Crovderg burned the bawn of Athlone and carried off many cows from the foreigners.[1]

§ 5. Dublin

Dublin. Dublin appears to have grown considerably, and to have become a flourishing commercial town during these twenty years. To this period must be referred the list of 1600 Dublin citizens, of which we have already given an analysis.[2]

Charter of 1192. In the year 1192 John granted an extended charter to his citizens of Dublin—to those dwelling outside the walls as well as to those dwelling within.[3] The boundaries south of the Liffey extended from the river Dodder to Kilmainham, and on the north from Grangegorman to the river Tolka. The principal liberties granted by this charter were to the following effect: that citizens should not be obliged to plead beyond their walls except as regards external tenements, nor be liable to

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1199. [2] *Supra*, vol. i, pp. 270–1.
[3] Hist. and Mun. Docs. Ireland, pp. 51–5.

a general fine for murder; that they might clear themselves on any appeal by compurgation, instead of by wager of battle; that they should not be liable to forcible billeting; that (as before) they should be free from certain tolls throughout John's dominions; that they should not be amerced in fines except according to the law of their hundred-court; that the usages of the city should prevail as regards their lands, debts, and mortgages held or contracted therein; that no foreign merchant should buy corn, hides, or wool in the city except from a citizen, nor should open a wine-tavern except on board ship, nor sell cloth by retail in the city, nor tarry therein with his wares for more than forty days; that citizens, other than the principal debtor or sureties, should not be distrained anywhere for debts; that they might contract marriages for themselves, their sons, daughters, and widows, without licence of their lords, who should only have the custody during infancy of tenements of the lord's fee; that no assize of recognition should be held in the city; that the citizens should have all reasonable guilds as the burgesses of Bristol had; that the citizens, by common consent, might dispose freely of lands and messuages within the boundaries to be held in free burgage, and might freely build, subject to the rights of those to whom John had already given charters. This, the first extended charter

granted in Ireland, was modelled on the charter given by John to Bristol in 1188, and was soon followed by others, similarly framed, and granted by the various feudal owners to the principal towns in their domains, as they grew to be of consequence.

As we have already noted, it was during this period that Archbishop Cumin converted the parochial church of St. Patrick de Insula into a collegiate church, and endowed it with thirteen prebends. Close by, at St. Sepulchre's, he appears to have had his principal residence. By moving outside the walls, however, he did not escape coming into conflict with Hamo de Valognes, who was justiciar in 1196–8. Hamo and his men are said to have done great injuries to the archbishop and the Church in 1197. What these injuries were we are not told, but the archbishop took them so seriously that he excommunicated the offenders, and, pronouncing an interdict upon the archbishopric, went into exile. Like the men of Connaught in the face of Miles de Cogan's incursion in 1177, he 'ordered the crosses and images of the cathedral church to be laid on the ground and to be surrounded with thorns, that thus these malefactors might be smitten with fear and be checked in their intentions to rage against the property of the Church'. The carved Christ on the cross showed, it is said, miraculous signs of agony, but in vain. The

Archbishop Cumin.

archbishop appealed to King Richard and to Earl John, but without success.[1] In December 1204 the Pope threatened an interdict if John did not replace the archbishop in his favour.[2] Ultimately Hamo is said to have compensated the archbishop by a grant of 'twenty carucates of land in Ucunil'.[3] John Cumin had other quarrels about property with King John. Like Becket, when once made archbishop he was a great stickler for the rights of his see, which he left immensely richer than it was when he received it.

§ 6. The Crown Lands and Leinster

The crown lands and Leinster.

In the crown lands of Dublin, Wicklow, and Waterford, as in the whole lordship of Leinster, we read of no fighting. As we saw when reviewing the sub-infeudation of Leinster, large tracts of country were left by Earl Richard in the hands of the Irish, either by arrangement with the native princes or because they were not thoroughly subdued. Thus in the northern

[1] Roger de Hoveden (1197) iv. 29–30.

[2] Cal. Papal Letters (Bliss) i. 18.

[3] Crede Mihi, p. 66. This grant probably consisted of one knight's fee in Culballysiward (near Bruree in Upper Connello), together with a tenement in Bruree, given by Hamo, Lord of Iniskyfty, to the predecessor of John de Sanford, Archbishop of Dublin, as found by an inquisition of 1289 (quoted by Mr. Westropp, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1903, p. 29). Cf. Cal Liber Niger Alani, p. 771.

part of the present county of Wexford and adjoining portions of the Counties Carlow and Wicklow, the tribes of Okinselagh seem to have been left by the earl under the rule of Murtough Mc Murrough. He lived on to 1193. We hear no more of the Mc Murroughs nor of any disturbance from them until the reign of Edward I. Indeed, even then the disturbance first arose from the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes. In Upper Ossory the Mac Gillapatricks still held sway; in parts of Leix the O'Mores, and in the western parts of Offaly the O'Conors and O'Dempsys held much of their own. The county of Kildare was, as we have seen, very fully parcelled out, and some of the tribes, such as the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, retreated to the uplands of the County Wicklow, where they maintained their tribal organization and a lawless freedom, and were afterwards from time to time a source of danger and injury to the colony.

In 1189, after the accession of Richard I, Isabel de Clare, the heiress of Leinster and of many lands besides, was given in marriage to William Marshal, and soon afterwards he seems to have obtained seisin of his Irish lordship. With the possible exception of one or two brief visits, he did not come to Ireland until the close of the year 1206, and we shall reserve our account of him and his doings in Ireland to a subsequent chapter.

§ 7. The Downfall of John de Courcy

We must now return to John de Courcy, who after twenty years of prosperity in Ulster entered upon a stormy period which ended in his downfall. While the air in the north was still unruffled, however, acting apparently as an emissary of the government and accompanied by one of the de Lacys, probably his neighbour Hugh, he led an army in 1195 to Athlone, where he negotiated a peace with Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, King of Connaught, who had been making raids on the Anglo-Norman settlement in Munster. To this expedition we shall recur when we have described the events in Munster which led to it.

John de Courcy makes peace at Athlone.

In 1197 Jordan de Courcy, John's brother, was slain by an Irishman of his household. This murder seems to mark a turning-point in John's career. Certainly after it he became more aggressive. He is said to have avenged his brother's death on certain petty kings, subjugating their territories and giving no small part of them to Duncan, son of Gilbert of Galloway, who had come to his aid.[1] This is the first we hear of a Scottish settlement in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, where large grants were afterwards made to Scots of Galloway by King John. Indeed, we need have no hesitation in connecting the erection in this year of

Murder of Jordan de Courcy.

[1] Roger of Hoveden, iv. 25.

the castle of Kilsantain or Kilsantail, identified with the mote of Mount Sandel near Coleraine, and the devastation of the adjoining cantred of Keenaught in Tirowen,[1] with this expedition. The castle of Kilsantail.

Since the year 1177 an intermittent struggle for the kingship of Tirowen appears to have been going on between the O'Loughlins and the O'Neills, the latter a name afterwards illustrious in the annals of Ireland, but now for the first time coming to the front. Between the years 1186 and 1201 no fewer than four kings of the Cinel Owen were killed and three deposed, while for several of these years Flaherty O'Muldory, King of Tirconnell, taking advantage of the weakness due to this intestine feud, had imposed his rule over Tirowen. In 1196 an O'Loughlin was killed by his own people, and it was apparently on behalf of another O'Loughlin that the first expedition from the castle of Kilsantail into Tirowen was made in 1197.[2] In that year Flaherty O'Muldory died, and for four years John de Courcy made repeated plundering expeditions, with varying success, to Derry and Inishowen, but no permanent settlement seems to have been effected. Raids into Tirowen.

In 1201 John de Courcy, in company with

[1] Ann. Ulster, Four Masters, 1197; Ann. Loch Cé, 1196.

[2] Ann. Ulster, 1197; Ann. Loch Cé, 1196. John de Courcy's men 'were slaughtered to a large number around the son of Ardgal O'Loughlin'.

Expedition to Connaught, 1201.

Hugh de Lacy, made an unsuccessful expedition into Connaught to assist Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, who had been expelled by his grand-nephew Çathal Carragh.[1] He seems, indeed, always to have welcomed the prospect of a fight and to have hearkened to the call of almost any dispossessed chieftain, hoping no doubt to get profit to himself by the way. But in all his campaigning, which for the most part was unsuccessful, we seem to see the truth of Gerald de Barry's criticism that he was 'more of a soldier than of a general'. Within his lordship of Uladh, however, after the first few years of his occupation, we hear of no fighting. We may conclude that he dominated the whole country to the east of the Bann, Lough Neagh, and the Newry river,[2] and that the native tribes there acquiesced in his rule. To attain this result he must have been something of a statesman.

The fall of John de Courcy.

But the fall of this remarkable man was near at hand. He incurred the wrath of King John and succumbed to the treachery of his companions in arms, the de Lacys. John de Courcy's expeditions into Connaught will be better understood when the relations of the rival claimants to the throne there with the

[1] See below, p. 187.

[2] The distribution of motes in Ulster, most of which were probably erected in John de Courcy's time, would alone indicate this.

English government and with William de Burgh have been examined. Here we may observe that these expeditions cannot have been the real cause of the king's ire against John de Courcy or of his ultimate ruin.[1] This supposition would not only seem to be excluded by the dates, but would fail to account for the royal favour bestowed on the de Lacys, one of whom at any rate shared in de Courcy's expedition. Some other cause of the royal ire must be sought. Probably de Courcy refused to do homage to John as king, and claimed to rule in Ulster independently.[2] Perhaps, too, there is truth in the tradition that he afterwards used very

[1] In a mandate dated the 4th of September, 1199, the king bids Meiler Fitz Henry inquire whether Henry Tirel 'had sided with John de Courcy and W. de Lacy and aided them in destroying the king's land of Ireland': Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 90. This cannot refer to the Connaught expedition of 1201, and is unlikely to refer to that of 1195. It is more probable that it refers to John de Courcy's raids into Tirowen in 1198–9, though there is no mention in the annals of his being accompanied there by one of the de Lacys. According to the story of John de Courcy's treacherous arrest as told by Roger de Hoveden, Hugh de Lacy said he was John's liegeman. It is very probable that Hugh held lands of John in Ulster or perhaps in the north of the present County Louth. Perhaps the W. de Lacy of John's mandate was William de Lacy, son of the elder Hugh by the daughter of Rory O'Conor.

[2] This is intimated in the Laud MS. Annals (Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 309) and in the Book of Howth, p. 111. Roger de Hoveden (iv. 162), when giving, after

plain language with regard to John's treatment of Arthur of Brittany. Nothing would have been more likely to arouse John's vindictiveness. But, indeed, to judge by authenticated facts alone, John would appear to have behaved with unwonted forbearance, and the person whose conduct in the affair shows worst was not the king, but Hugh de Lacy, who was ready to do the bidding of the king, to his own advantage, but to the ruin of his former friend and companion in arms. The authenticated facts are as follows: On arriving in Meath after his forced retreat from Connaught in 1201, John de Courcy was treacherously arrested by the de Lacys, and would have been delivered up to the king, 'who had long wished to take him,' only that his release was obtained by his followers as the price of their ceasing to ravage the de Lacy lands.[1] He returned to Uladh, and in July 1202 was offered a safe-conduct to and from the king's court 'to treat of peace'.[2] This he must have ignored, for in 1203 Hugh de Lacy followed him to Uladh, defeated him in

the manner of chroniclers, a list of sovereigns synchronously reigning in the year 1201, winds up in a curious way with 'John de Courcy reigning in Ulster'. This has the air of being a court sarcasm current at the time.

[1] Roger de Hoveden, iv. 176; Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin), Ann. Ulster, 1201; cf. Ann. Clonmacnois, 1200, and Four Masters, 1199. The true date seems to be 1201.

[2] Rot. Pat., 4 John, m. 11 (p. 15 b).

a battle at Downpatrick, and banished him from his lordship.[1] In September a safe-conduct was issued to him to go to the king and return 'if he does not make peace with us'.[2] Apparently he gave hostages at this time and undertook to go to the king, but failed to perform his undertaking. On the 31st of August, 1204, the king ordered Meiler Fitz Henry and Walter de Lacy to summon John de Courcy to come forthwith to the king's service, 'as he had sworn and given hostages to do', and in default to confiscate his lands.[3] Probably the list of his hostages entered on the Patent Roll for the 6th John are those referred to. The names are those of his principal vassals or their sons.[4] At the

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Clonmacnois, Four Masters, 1203, Ann. Ulster, 1204. [2] Rot. Pat., 5 John, m. 6 (p. 34 b).

[3] Pat. Roll, 6 John, m. 9 (p. 45).

[4] Pat. Roll, 6 John, m. 1 dors (p. 55 b). The names are Milo, son of John de Courcy juvenis; Robin, son of William Salvage; John de Courcy, son of Roger of Chester; Wilkin, son of Augustine de Ridal; Peter, son of William Haket; Alexander, son of William Sarazein; John, son of Adam the chamberlain; John, son of Richard Fitz Robert. Of these names the following appear as witnesses to John de Courcy's charter granting full jurisdiction over their men and tenements to the prior and monks of the church of Down: William Savage, Roger of Chester, William Hacket, William Saracen, Adam the chamberlain, and Richard Fitz Robert: Pat. Roll, 42 Ed. III. Milo, son of John de Courcy, is supposed by Lodge to have been son of the conqueror of Ulster and ancestor of the Earls of Kinsale. He may have been son of John, son of Roger of Chester.

same time the king ordered all the barons of Ulster, who had pledged their oaths and given hostages for John de Courcy, to cause their lord to come to the king's service, and threatened in default to betake himself to their hostages and their fiefs.[1] John de Courcy must have still proved contumacious. A new expedition was made by Hugh de Lacy, apparently in September; a battle was fought, and John de Courcy was taken prisoner. He was, however, permitted to go free, according to one account, 'on being crossed to go to Jerusalem'. He appears, however, to have gone to Tirowen instead.[2] On the 21st of October a new safe-conduct was given to him to Mid-Lent,[3] and this was afterwards extended till Easter, but there is nothing to show that he availed himself of it. The forfeiture was at last deemed complete, and Hugh de Lacy got his reward. On the 29th of May, 1205, the king granted to Hugh de Lacy all the land of Ulster, whereof the king belted him earl, to hold of the king in fee as John de Courcy held it on the day when Hugh conquered and took him prisoner in the field,

Hugh de Lacy created Earl of Ulster.

[1] Pat. Roll, 6 John, m. 9 (p. 45 b).

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1204. In the Ann. Clonmacnois and Four Masters (1204) and Ann. Ulster (1205) it is stated that he sought protection in Tirowen—a further indication that there was a party which favoured him there.

[3] Pat. Roll, 6 John, m. 7 (p. 47) and m. 4 (p. 50).

rendering the service of one knight for every cantred.[1]

John de Courcy, however, made a further effort to recover his lordship. He appealed to the Pope and obtained a worthless mandate addressed to the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and the Abbot of Ines, to order Hugh de Lacy, if he had unjustly made war against John, to restore what he had taken.[2] He obtained more tangible assistance from his brother-in-law Reginald, King of Man and the Isles, and, having collected a large host and a fleet of one hundred ships, he landed at Strangford harbour and proceeded to lay siege to 'the castle of Rath'. This castle has been identified with the well-known castle of Dundrum,[3] the ruins of which include a fine circular donjon tower built on a platform of rock, and possibly dating from John de Courcy's time. It guards the only practicable approach by land into Lecale, and hence the importance of securing

John de Courcy's last attempt.

[1] Rot. Chart., 7 John, p. 151; Rot. Pat., 6 John, p. 54. A little later (June 30) the king bade Meiler Fitz Henry place confidence in the representations of Hugh de Lacy, now sent by the king as a sort of coadjutor. The justiciar was not to wage war against the marchers except by advice of Walter and Hugh de Lacy and of the other subjects of the king whose fidelity and service are necessary to maintain war.

[2] Papal Letters (Bliss), vol. i, Kal. Jul. 1205.

[3] Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, pp. 23–9. It may, however, be doubted whether the circular keep was introduced so early.

it at once. The castle, however, was apparently too strong to be taken by assault, and John commenced the tardier operations of a siege. The effort was of no avail. Walter de Lacy came with a large army and dispersed the invading force.[1] What happened to John de Courcy is obscure. He certainly never recovered his lordship. There are numerous legends, some of them of respectable antiquity,[2] but in the absence of confirmation we can place no reliance upon them. All we know for certain is that on the 14th of November, 1207, the king granted him licence to come to England and remain with his friends, adding that when it

[1] Chron. Manniae et Insularum, 1204–5 (Manx Society, vol. xxii). Reginald, King of Man, is here called John de Courcy's son-in-law (*gener*). He was his brother-in-law.

[2] The oldest form in which these stories have reached us is to be found in the Laud MS. Annals (printed Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. ii, pp. 308–10), a transcript dating from the fifteenth century. According to this it would appear that John de Courcy was captured by Hugh de Lacy in 1204 and thrown into prison. Afterwards King John sent for him to fight a duel as his champion against the champion of the King of France. The latter, however, hearing of de Courcy's prowess, declined the combat. The two kings, after witnessing a proof of de Courcy's extraordinary strength, rewarded him, and John gave him back his lordship of Ulster. Accordingly de Courcy made fifteen attempts to land in Ireland, but failed each time through contrary winds. He then, after staying a while with the monks of Chester, returned to France, where he died.

was the king's pleasure he should no longer remain the king would give him forty days' notice.[1] Probably John de Courcy accepted this permission and became reconciled with the king, as it seems that the king afterwards made use of his services. For, as we shall see, when King John came to Ireland in 1210, fulminating wrath and destruction on Hugh de Lacy and all his kith and kin, he seems to have brought John de Courcy with him, and to have employed him specially to bring into captivity some of the fugitives from Carrickfergus. And again at a later period, on the 20th of June, 1216, just at the moment when Louis of France, to whom London had opened its gates, was besieging Winchester, John issued a mandate to all his constables to aid John de Courcy and his followers in annoying the king's enemies and in securing any booty he might acquire from them.[2] This mandate can hardly refer to any one but the former lord of Ulster. There is some evidence that early in the reign of Henry III some of his English lands were restored to him;[3]

[1] Rot. Pat., 9 John, p. 77.

[2] Rot. Pat., 18 John, m. 7.

[3] Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III, m. 15 dors (p. 376), where his name occurs in a list apparently of those who had returned to their allegiance, and to whom seisin of their lands was to be given. See Mr. Round's article in the Dict. Nat. Biog., and cf. the curious certificate given by Hen. III in 1251, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 3202.

but he must have died before the 22nd of September, 1219, when a mandate was issued to the justiciar of Ireland to cause Affreca, wife of the late John de Courcy, to have dower out of the tenements of her late husband.[1]

John de Courcy left no legitimate offspring,[2] and no records are forthcoming to connect him with the Patrick de Courcy who appears in 1221 as a tenant-in-chief in Cork,[3] and who may be regarded as a progenitor of the long line of barons of Kinsale. Some relationship between the two is very probable, though on this point history is mute. But history is not mute as to the effect of John de Courcy's rule in Uladh. From his time and to his orderly rule we may trace the early prosperity of Eastern Ulster[4]; and this prosperity, though in after ages nearly destroyed, was never wholly lost.

[1] Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. III, p. 401 b.

[2] Gir. Camb. v 409 (written c. 1210).

[3] See *supra*, p. 49.

[4] Few monetary records survive; but in 1226, though following on a disturbed period, the sums received from the bailiwicks of Antrim, Carrickfergus, the Ards, Blathewic (Lr. Castlereagh), and Lecale, amounted to £936. Rot. Claus., 11 Hen. III, p. 205. Thirty-six years later the sum of £464 was received by the Crown from a few manors in the northern part of County Antrim : Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Irel., pt. ii, pl. 73.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE OCCUPATION OF LIMERICK
1192–1206

WHILE throughout the eastern half of Ireland the inhabitants were everywhere settling down peaceably to the new order of things, a forward movement was made in Munster which led to some desultory fighting, and ultimately to a large expansion of the area of Anglo-Norman occupation. As we have seen, when John came to Ireland in 1185 his insolent conduct alienated the three great potentates of the west, Dermot Mc Carthy, Donnell O'Brien, and Rory O'Conor, and they abstained from doing him homage. At this time, it seems, he made what must be regarded as 'speculative grants' of large portions of the present County Tipperary to Theobald Walter, Philip of Worcester, and others. His newly erected castles at Ardfinan, Lismore, and Tibberaghny were used as bases for expeditions into Munster, which at first appear to have met with no success. In 1192, however, a new forward movement was made. The English advanced as far as Killaloe and a little beyond into Thomond, when they were checked

Forward movement in Munster, 1192.

by Donnell O'Brien. The expedition, however, resulted in the building of the two great mote-fortresses of Kilfeacle and Knockgraffon.[1] The grassy fosse-encircled mounds remain with traces of later stone-castles on their summits or in their attached baileys, and from the size of the earth-works we can judge of their early importance.

Castle of Kilfeacle

The mote of Kilfeacle lies close to the road between Tipperary and Cashel, near the ancient church-site, and the castle there was one of those restored to William de Burgh in 1203, and it became the *caput* of an important de Burgh manor.[2] We may perhaps infer that it was William de Burgh who erected it in 1192.

William de Burgh.

This remarkable man, afterwards known to the Irish of Connaught as 'William the Conqueror', was brother to Hubert de Burgh, John's faithful minister,[3] and progenitor of the de Burghs or Burkes, earls of Ulster, and of the Burkes of Connaught and Munster. He has generally been represented by modern writers as the same

[1] Four Masters, 1192; Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1192. According to the latter annals, in 1196 the castle of Kilfeacle was destroyed by Donnell mor na Curradh, son of Dermot Mc Carthy. But it must have been soon rebuilt again.

[2] Liberate, 5 John, p. 67, and see the extent of the manors which belonged to Richard de Burgh in Munster at his death (1243): Inquis. P. M., 27 Hen. III, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2607; Cal. Inquis., vol. i, p. 6.

[3] Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, is called by Henry III uncle of Richard de Burgh, William's eldest son: Rot. Pat., 18 Hen. III, m. 3, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2217.

person as William Fitz Audelin, who first came to Ireland with Henry II, but for this identification there is no good authority and it must be rejected. He held two knights' fees about Ardoyne, near Tullow, from Theobald Walter,[1] and it is probable that he came to Ireland with John in 1185 and received a grant in Munster [2] about the same time as Theobald received his large grant there.

Castle of Knockgraffon.

The mote of Knockgraffon lies not far from the Suir above Caher. It is similar in the arrangement of its defences to that at Kilfeacle, but is even a finer example. It bears traces of a stone building on its summit, and the remains of a stone castle in its bailey. Save for the neighbouring ruins of a church with some Early English features, it rises lonely from the swelling plain, conspicuous from afar, an imperishable memorial of the expedition of 1192.

[1] Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 104. This grant was before 1202, when it was ratified by Giovanni di Salerno, Cardinal Legate: ibid., p. 225.

[2] Probably the grant by 'John son of the King of England and Duke (*dux* ?) of Ireland to William de Burgh of half a cantred at Tilra'ct in which is Kilsela to be holden by the service of two knights' (H. M. C., 3rd Rep., p. 231), means the half-cantred containing Kilsheelan, near Tibract, i.e. John's castle, now written Tibberaghny. Both Kilsheelan (written Kilsilan) and Tiperacht were de Burgh manors (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2607). The latter was granted to de Burgh in 1200; Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 7 b.

In 1202 it belonged to Philip of Worcester,[1] and perhaps it was for him it was erected.

Friendly relations with Donnell O'Brien.

Some arrangement seems to have been made with Donnell O'Brien, as in the next year (1193) he is said to have consented to the erection of the castle of Briginis in Thomond 'for the purpose of distressing Mac Carthy'.[2] The hereditary hatred of the Dalcassians for the Eoghanachts was stronger than any jealousy of the progress of the invader. Indeed, there are other grounds for thinking that friendly relations were formed with the house of O'Brien at this time. William de Burgh is stated by an early Irish genealogist to have married one of Donnell O'Brien's daughters,[3] and as Richard de Burgh, the eldest son of this union, appears to have come of age in 1214,[4] the marriage must have taken place in 1193 at latest. Like Hugh de Lacy in Meath and John de Courcy in Ulster, William de Burgh by this alliance undoubtedly strengthened his position in Munster.

Next year (1194) Donnell O'Brien died. He

[1] Rot. Pat., 4 John, m. 10 (p. 16). For the mote of Knockgraffon see Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, p. 275.

[2] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1193.

[3] See the Tribes of Hy Many (ed. O'Donovan), p. 45, a tract from the Book of Leacan, a compilation (from earlier sources) of about the year 1418.

[4] On the 11th July in this year John ordered seisin to be given to Richard de Burgh of his land in Ireland: Rot. Pat., 16 John, p. 118 b.

had been King of Thomond and the most powerful prince in Munster from the first coming of the Normans to Ireland. His marriage with a daughter of Dermot Mac Murrough, his hereditary feud with the house of O'Conor in Connaught and with the race of Eoghan in Munster, made him in general friendly to the invaders, except when they carried their aggression beyond Leinster and seemed to threaten Thomond. Then he more than once sternly and successfully repelled them. But towards the close of his career he seems to have entered into those closer relations with the English of Munster which formed a marked feature in the policy of his sons.

Death of Donnell O'Brien, 1194.

The succession to the throne of Thomond now becomes somewhat obscure, probably because no successor was universally recognized. We hear repeatedly of three sons of Donnell O'Brien, viz. Donough Cairbrech, Murtough Finn, and Conor Roe. One annalist tells us that Donough Cairbrech was made king by the English,[1] but it is probable that he was not accepted as such by the Irish of Thomond. The Four Masters state that Murtough O'Brien, son of the late king, 'assumed his father's place,' using a phrase which implies that he was not formally chosen by the tribesmen. At any rate, for some years we find the three brothers acting in harmony with each other and with the English, until

Succession to the throne of Thomond.

[1] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1194.

in 1203 Conor Roe was slain by Murtough Finn.[1] In 1208 Murtough himself 'was taken prisoner by the English of Limerick in violation of the guarantee of three bishops and by order of his own brother Donough Cairbrech '.[2] In 1210, however, 'Mariadac', King of Limerick, is mentioned in an English Roll,[3] and this name represents Murtough. He died in 1239, but from about 1210 up to his death in 1242 Donough Cairbrech seems to have been king. There were other rivals to the throne, however, not sons of Donnell O'Brien, but with rights of seniority. Two of these were got out of the way at once by, or in the interests of, Murtough Finn. Donough, son of the late king's elder brother, was killed,[4] and Murtough, representative of the senior line traced from Murtough Mor, King of Munster, was blinded and otherwise incapacitated from ruling.[5] The following table will make the relationship clearer, and will serve to indicate the ruthless way in which the claims of seniority were from time to time met by the house of O'Brien.

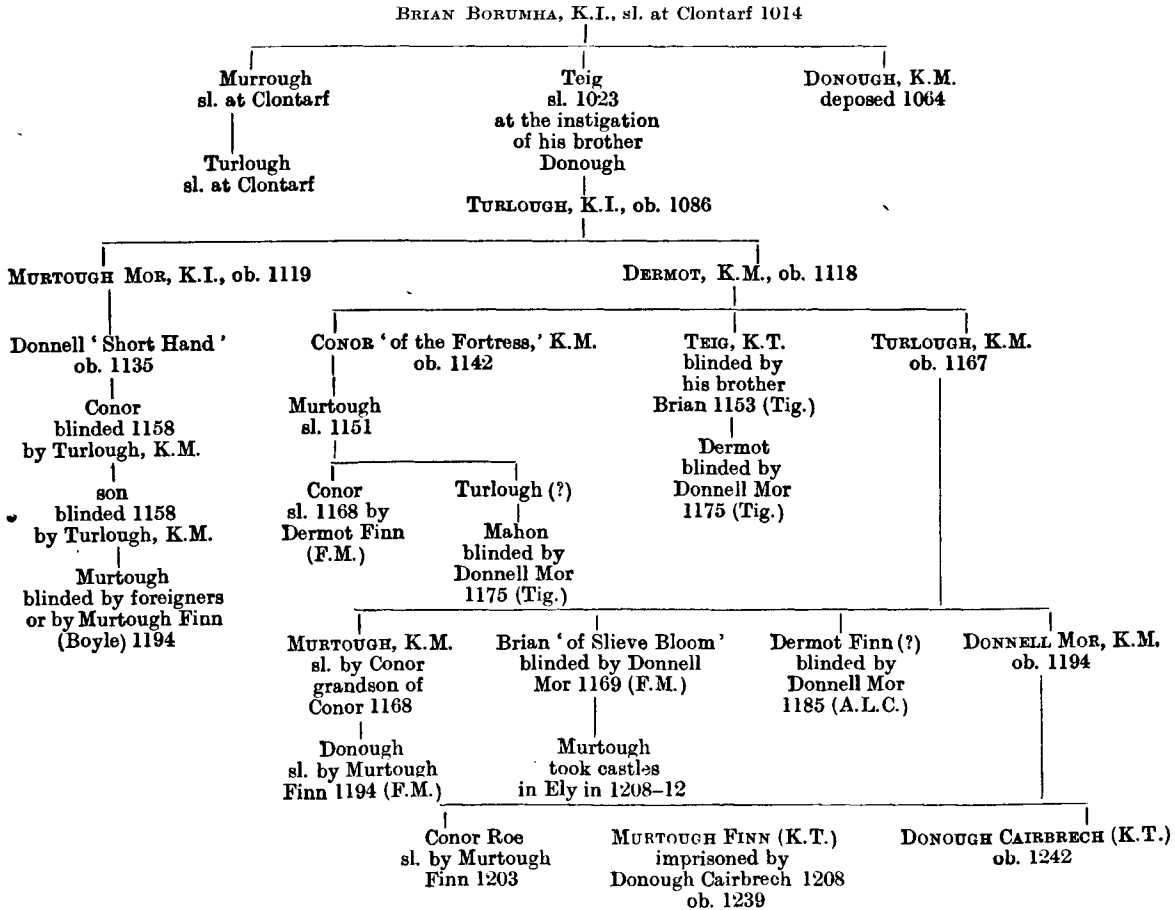
[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1203.

[2] Four Masters, Ann. Clonmacnois, 1208.

[3] Rot. de Prestito, 12 John, p. 196.

[4] Four Masters, 1194.

[5] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Boyle, 1194. John O'Donoghue, in his Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens, makes Murtough Dall or 'the Blind' the immediate successor of Donnell Mor. There may be authority for this, but he seems to be mistaken in supposing him to be Donnell's son.


BRIAN BORUMHA, K.I., sl. at Clontarf 1014
Murrough sl. at Clontarf
Turlough sl. at Clontarf
Teig sl. 1023 at the instigation of his brother Donough
DONOUGH, K.M. deposed 1064
TURLOUGH, K.I., ob. 1086
MURTOUGH MOR, K.I., ob. 1119
DERMOT, K.M., ob. 1118
Donnell 'Short Hand' ob. 1135
Conor blinded 1158 by Turlough, K.M.
son blinded 1158 by Turlough, K.M.
Murtough blinded by foreigners or by Murtough Finn (Boyle) 1194
CONOR 'of the Fortress,' K.M. ob. 1142
TEIG, K.T. blinded by his brother Brian 1153 (Tig.)
TURLOUGH, K.M. ob. 1167
Murtough sl. 1151
Dermot blinded by Donnell Mor 1175 (Tig.)
Conor sl. 1168 by Dermot Finn (F.M.)
Turlough (?)
Mahon blinded by Donnell Mor 1175 (Tig.)
MURTOUGH, K.M. sl. by Conor grandson of Conor 1168
Brian 'of Slieve Bloom' blinded by Donnell Mor 1169 (F.M.)
Dermot Finn (?) blinded by Donnell Mor 1185 (A.L.C.)
DONNELL MOR, K.M. ob. 1194
Donough sl. by Murtough Finn 1194 (F.M.)
Murtough took castles in Ely in 1208–12
Conor Roe sl. by Murtough Finn 1203
MURTOUGH FINN (K.T.) imprisoned by Donough Cairbrech 1208 ob. 1239
DONOUGH CAIRBRECH (K.T.) ob. 1242

Alliance with the sons of Donnell O'Brien.

Whoever is to be regarded as the titular king of Thomond at this time, the chief power was soon to become centred in William de Burgh. It is pretty clear that William and his companions now, or very soon afterwards, made an alliance with his brothers-in-law, the sons of Donnell O'Brien. In all probability the foreigners were to be allowed to settle in Limerick and in the greater part of the kingdom south of the Shannon (mainly at the expense of the Eoghanachts), in return for their supporting the claims of Donnell O'Brien's sons to the kingship of Thomond, as against the representatives of elder branches of the house, and in return for protection against the interference of the O'Conors. That there was some such treaty or arrangement the events of the next few years seem to show.

At first sight these events as recorded in the Irish annals present a tangled skein, hard to unravel, and even after patient study we cannot be quite sure that we follow all the threads correctly. The bare fact of an incursion is mentioned without motive assigned, and sometimes the statement is so meagre that it is not easy to assign either cause or consequence. Two results are, however, plain enough from the clearer light of slightly subsequent English records: first, that before the close of the century the town of Limerick was finally occupied by the Anglo-

Normans, and henceforth became an English town; secondly, that the Anglo-Norman settlement and feudal organization soon extended over the greater part of the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

Interpreting the annalistic records as best we can in the light of established facts, the course of events seems to have been as follows:—

Philip of Worcester.

The year after Donnell O'Brien's death 'Philip of Worcester came to Ireland to reinforce the English of Munster'.[1] Ten years previously he had been with John in Ireland as justiciar, and he appears to have been again sent over to take the fief of Meath into the king's hand on Hugh de Lacy's death. The large grant which Philip had probably already received about Knockgraffon in Southern Tipperary supplied a personal motive for his interference, but we may be sure he did not come without John's assent and encouragement. William de Burgh was already in Munster, and the disputed succession to the throne of Thomond gave the adventurers an opportunity of making a bargain with the sons of Donnell O'Brien as the price of their support. The latter, at any rate, made no opposition to the renewed activity of the settlers in Munster,

[1] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1195. Philip of Worcester is said to have founded the Benedictine Priory of Kilcumin (Kilcommon near Caher, co. Tipperary?), c. 1184 (Harris), but the date is probably too early.

but the King of Connaught thought fit to interfere. 'Cathal Crovderg O'Conor and Mac Costello, with some of the English and Irish of Meath, marched into Munster until they reached Emly and Cashel, and they burned four large castles and some small ones.'[1] This raid, which appears to have been quite unprovoked, was primarily directed against William de Burgh, Philip of Worcester, and their companions, whose encroachment so near his southern border Cathal no doubt viewed with concern. But Cathal probably also meant to assert the ancient supremacy of Connaught over Munster. Very significant, too, is the part played by 'Mac Costello'. We have known him hitherto as Gilbert de Nangle, or de Angulo, to whom Hugh de Lacy had given the barony of Morgallion in Meath.[2] Gilbert, however, preferred the wild ways of the Irish to the more orderly life of a feudal baron. In 1193 we find him and his band of foreigners joining the Irish in plundering Inchcleraun, an island in Lough Ree,[3] and next year he led an expedition to Assaroe, on the

Raid of Cathal Crovderg.

And Gilbert de Nangle.

[1] Four Masters, 1195; cf. Ann. Loch Cé, 1195, where Mac Costello is said to have been 'apprehended' [by John de Courcy], but the entry is incomplete.

[2] *Supra*, p. 84. He was called by the Irish Gillipert Mac Goisdealbh (son of Jocelin), a name which came to be written Mac Costello, and long afterwards the barony of Costello in Mayo took its name from the family.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1193.

border of Tirconnell, but 'without much profit'.[1] This was presumably on behalf of the King of Connaught. At any rate, in 1195 he took service under Cathal Crovderg in his raid against the Normans in Munster, and for this he and probably his brother Philip were outlawed and deprived of their lands in Meath. Gilbert seems to have remained permanently in Cathal's service, and was rewarded by a grant of the cantred of Maenmagh near Loughrea.[2] He is an early example of an hibernicized Norman (or perhaps Fleming), or at least of one who cast in his lot with the Irish.

Hosting by John de Courcy and de Lacy.

While Cathal Crovderg was engaged in this raid there was also 'a hosting by John de Courcy and the son of Hugh de Lacy [probably the younger Hugh] to assume power', we are told, 'over the foreigners of Leinster and Munster.'[3] The motive assigned is ambiguous, but they were probably sent by the government to control the operations in Munster. They seem to have summoned Cathal to Athlone, whither he came with twelve hundred men, and the parley, we are simply told, resulted in his obtaining peace.[4] What the terms were we do not

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1194.

[2] In 1207 Gilbert was pardoned, and the cantred of Maenmagh, given to him by the king of Connaught, was confirmed to him: Rot. Claus., 8 John, p. 78 b.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Ulster, Four Masters, 1195.

[4] Ann. Loch Cé, 1195.

know, but he was probably recognized as King of Connaught on the promise of not interfering any more in Munster, and of good behaviour generally. At any rate, he committed no further depredation on the English for the next four years.

At some time, however, during the reign of Richard I, John appears to have made a speculative grant of the whole or part of Connaught to William de Burgh,[1] who in his turn made a similar grant of ten cantreds in the north of Connaught to Hugh de Lacy.[2] This latter grant may have supplied the motive for Hugh de Lacy's hosting at this time, and the services of John de Courcy may have been similarly enlisted. To these grants we shall recur, but for the time, at any rate, they were inoperative, and were held in suspense by the peace of Athlone.

Limerick in Norman hands.

The city of Limerick, captured, relieved, and evacuated by Raymond le Gros twenty years previously, was now in Norman hands, and apparently with the consent of the O'Briens. Next year indeed we are told that Donnell, son

[1] John's grant to William de Burgh is referred to in his subsequent grant to Richard de Burgh (September 13, 1215) of 'all the land of Connaught which William, his father, held of the King': Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 218 b.

[2] Gormanston Register, f. 189. These cantreds were the Three Tuatha (Four Masters, 1189, note), Moylurg and Tirerrill as one cantred, Corran, Carbury-Drumcliff, Tireragh on the Moy, the two cantreds of Tirawley, Erris, Leyney, and Slieve-Lugha (south of Leyney).

of Dermot Mc Carthy, defeated the foreigners and afterwards expelled them from Limerick.[1] Whatever opposition there was came from the Eoghanachts. But the expulsion can only have been for the moment. Soon afterwards, probably in 1197, we find Hamo de Valognes, the justiciar, in Limerick, making grants of burgages in that town to the leaders of the forward movement, to whom he probably at the same time made the large grants of lands in the neighbouring districts which were confirmed by King John in 1199.[2] Indeed we know that John, before coming to the throne, and probably in 1197, granted to Hamo himself 'two cantreds in Hochenil (Ir. *Ui Conaill*) in the land of Limerick',[3] and about the same time he gave a charter to the city of Limerick conferring on the citizens all the liberties and free customs enjoyed by the citizens of Dublin.[4] He also

[1] Ann. Ulster, Four Masters, 1196; Ann. Loch Cé, 1195. It is probably to this temporary loss of Limerick that some fourteenth-century MSS. of the Expugnatio Hibernica refer: [urbs Limiricensis] 'longe post sub Hamone de Valoingnes justitiario fraudulenter destructa et per Meilerium recuperata': Rolls ed., p. 342.

[2] King John's grants in 1199 refer to previous grants by Hamo of burgages in Limerick, and appear to be confirmatory.

[3] See John's confirmatory grant, Rot. Chart., 1 John, p. 19.

[4] Rot. Cancellarie Cal. (Tresham), p. 5, no. 13, and Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 36.

appears to have granted to Walter de Lacy a messuage in Limerick and three knights' fees in the cantred which he retained for his own use, i. e. that near Limerick.[1]

How, or exactly when, the Normans obtained possession of the city of Limerick we are not told. We hear of neither siege nor capture, nor of warfare of any sort. Irish annalists are more ready to record and even magnify the defeats and disasters of the foreigners than to mention the stages of their advance. Thus they leave us here to infer that the Normans had got possession of Limerick from the statement that in 1196 Donnell Mc Carthy drove them out.

Limerick an Ostman city.

It must be borne in mind that Limerick, though in general politically subject to the King of Thomond, was still essentially an Ostman city. Its inhabitants in 1157, and again in 1171, are called Galls or Foreigners by the Four Masters; its first four bishops appear to have been of Scandinavian extraction; the surrounding district on both sides of the river was 'the cantred of the Ostmen'; the first provost of the city under its new charter was Syward, presumably an Ostman; and we shall find Ostmen jurors serving on the inquisition as to the lands of St. Mary's Church. It is probable that soon after the death of Donnell O'Brien the Ostmen of Limerick transferred their allegiance to the

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 5 dors.

Normans, to whom they were more akin, not only in race, but in habits and customs, than they were to the Irish. Probably, too, the sons of Donnell O'Brien, in return for Norman support, acquiesced in the Norman occupation of the town, as they appear to have subsequently acquiesced in the Norman occupation of the kingdom south of the Shannon. The immediate granting of a charter to Limerick similar to that given to Dublin in 1192 is a clear indication that Limerick was occupied by agreement and not by force, and at a later period, about 1210, we find forty carucates of land, part no doubt of 'the cantred of the Ostmen', secured to the citizens in burgage tenure.[1]

Joint expedition into Thomond.

Indeed in the year 1197 the new settlers seem to have endeavoured to carry out their part of the bargain with the O'Briens. 'Donough Cairbrech brought the English into Thomond, where they slew Covey Macnamara, Conor O'Quin, and many others.'[2] Macnamara (Mac Conmara) was by hereditary right the chieftain to inaugurate the O'Brien, and O'Quin was a neighbouring chieftain. We cannot be far wrong in supposing that the object of this expedition was to force the tribes there to accept Donough Cairbrech as king and to inaugurate him in due form on the sacred mound of Magh Adhair. Whether the

[1] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 211.,

[2] Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1197.

object was then effected or not, the grants of lands on both sides of the Shannon showered at this time on the leaders of the forward movement, and confirmed and perhaps added to by King John in 1199, were probably made with the consent of Donnell O'Brien's sons and at the cost of the Eoghanachts and other recalcitrant chieftains. That the hereditary enmity of the Dalcassians to the Eoghanachts had not at this time diminished in fervour we have clear evidence. In 1178 Donnell O'Brien had driven the greater part of the race of Eoghan out of his kingdom; and, in particular, the O'Coilens of Lower Connello and the O'Donovans of the valley of the Maigue were forced to fly southwards over Mangerton mountain.[1] Some of the Eoghanachts still remained or had returned, and in 1199 'the whole country along the Shannon was laid waste by a great war between English and Irish'.[2] If we may trust a late Irish writer,[3] Coilen O'Coilein, chief of Ui Conaill Gabhra, was killed at this time by the seed of Maurice Fitz Gerald. In the ensuing year (1200) 'a great army was mustered by William de Burgo and all the

Feud between the Dalcassians and Eugenians.

[1] Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin MS.). See the passage quoted and commented on by O'Donovan, Four Masters, 1178, note *m*; and cf. the Bodleian Ann. Inisfallen, 1175, 1177.

[2] Ibid., 1199.

[3] Michael O'Clery (one of the 'Four Masters'), in his Book of Pedigrees; see Journ. R. S. A. I. 1879–82, p. 225.

English of Munster, joined by Murtough Finn, Conor Roe, and Donough Cairbrech, the three sons of Donnell Mor O'Brien, and they marched through Munster to Cork. They encamped for a week at Kinneigh, where Auliffe Mor O'Donovan and Mac Costello were slain. Then came Mahon O'Heynie, the Pope's Legate, and the bishops of Munster, and made peace between the O'Briens [on the one side] and the Mac Carthys O'Donohoes and the rest of the Eugenians [on the other].' [1]

This helps us to understand how so much of the present county of Limerick was ready to receive new rulers. Lower Connello and the valley of the Maigue, territories of the O'Coilens and O'Donovans respectively, were among the first districts settled.

We have now reached the time when, with the beginning of John's reign, our regular records commence, in a stream thin at first, but gradually increasing in volume. Henceforth we are able to check, interpret, and supplement the Irish annals and English chronicles by a more authoritative source. In particular we are enabled to gain some idea of the extent of the new settlement of the Normans in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary about the year 1200, and to trace the beginnings of the more important manors there.

[1] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1200.

Enfeoffment of Limerick.

In September 1199, when Philip Augustus was commencing hostilities against John, the latter at Rouen and other places in Normandy made a number of grants of lands within the kingdom of Limerick on both sides of the Shannon. In most cases a grant of one or more burgages in the town of Limerick was also made, and these burgages are stated to have been already delivered to the grantees by Hamo de Valognes, when justiciar. We may infer that the grants themselves were really confirmatory of what had already been done in John's name by Hamo a year or two earlier. It is hard to identify some of the Irish place-names, disguised as they are by the strange spelling and positive blunders of scribes and transcribers. To attempt to do so in all cases would involve an unduly minute investigation, and we shall content ourselves with mentioning only such grants as seem to have been the origin of the more famous manors of later times.

Hamo de Valognes.

To Hamo de Valognes himself John confirmed his grant of 'two cantreds in Hochenil in the land of Limerick', to hold by the service of ten knights.[1] The tribal territory designated appears to have included the whole western half of the present county, but Hamo's two cantreds were probably comprised in the present baronies of

[1] Rot. Chart., 1 John, p. 19. 'Hochenil' represents the Irish *Ui Conaill* or Ui Conaill Gabhra: Topogr. Poems, p. 116.

Upper and Lower Connello. A kite-shaped island in the river Deel, two miles from its source, was chosen by Hamo as the seat of his principal manor, and here in 1199 he built the castle of ASKEATON.[1] There is a rocky platform with precipitous sides in the middle of the island, and on this the ruined keep and inner ward of a later castle stand. This was no doubt the site of Hamo's castle. He was superseded as justiciar by Meiler Fitz Henry, but he got letters of protection and a special licence to colonize his lands.[2] In 1203, presumably after Hamo's death or forfeiture, John ordered the castle to be delivered to William de Burgh.[3] In 1207 Hamo's land and castles were restored to his son and heir Hamo, at the time a minor,[4] and in 1215 seisin was given to him.[5] All through the thirteenth century a Hamo de Valognes was a tenant-in-chief in Limerick,[6] but about the

[1] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1199. Askeaton represents the Irish *Eas Géibhtine*,' the cataract of G.'—probably a man's name. In early records the castle is generally called Iniskefty (variously disguised), pointing, in an earlier stage of phonetic rendering, to *Inis Géibhtine*.

[2] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 96 b.

[3] Liberate, 5 John, p. 67.

[4] Rot. Claus., 9 John, p. 96 b. At this time the custody was given to Hugh de Neville.

[5] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147.

[6] In the time of Edward I, *Hamund de Valoniis* owed eight services to the Crown ; Irish Exchequer Memoranda, Eng. Hist. Rev. 1903, p. 506.

middle of the next century the manor of Askeaton passed to the Earl of Desmond. The first Hamo appears to have granted the church of Askeaton (with others) to the abbey of Keynsham in Somerset,[1] and, as we have seen,[2] it was apparently with one knight's fee at Culballysiward and a tenement at Bruree, that he compensated Archbishop Cumin for the injuries he had done to him.

Three of the sons of Maurice Fitz Gerald shared in the exploitation of the land of Limerick, as they had, doubtless, shared in subduing such chieftains as resisted. Thomas, son of Maurice, now recognized as the progenitor of the House of Desmond, was probably granted at this time the lands which were afterwards known as the cantred of SHANID, and there can be little doubt that the castle-crowned mote of Shanid, long afterwards called 'Desmond's first and most ancient house', represents the seat of the manor created at this time.[3] His son John Fitz Thomas granted the church of 'Senode' (Shanid) to the

Thomas Fitz Maurice.

[1] Black Book of Limerick, no. lv (p. 47), to be read with no. xcv (p. 84).

[2] *Supra*, p. 132, note.

[3] In the Charter Roll, 1 John, p. 19 b, is a grant to Thomas son of Maurice of 'five knights' fees in the thwedum [Irish, *Tuath*] of Eleuri and cantred of Fontimel'. The position of this cantred is, however, doubtful. I have attempted to show that it may have included Shanid (Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, pp. 34–9). In any case the manor of Shanid was held in chief by John Fitz Thomas, and the original grant probably dates from his father's time.

church of St. Mary of Limerick,[1] and held the cantred called Shennede of the king in chief.[2] From him it descended to Thomas, son of Maurice (Fitz Gerald), the justiciar, who died in 1298.[3] Probably about the same time the first-named Thomas's brother Gerald, who married the daughter of Hamo de Valognes, and was ancestor of the earls of Kildare, obtained CROOM, in the valley of the Maigue.[4] It was held by his successors until forfeited by Silken Thomas in the sixteenth century. These two castles supplied the war-cries of the two houses—'Shanid aboo!' and 'Crom aboo!'—and each became the nucleus of several additional manors acquired from time to time. A third brother, William of Naas, was granted the castle of CARRICKITTLE in the parish of Kilteely, with five knights' fees near the castle.[5] Near the village of Kilteely there was a remarkable rock (now mostly quarried away) rising sheer out of the plain, on which the earl of Kildare built

Gerald Fitz Maurice.

William of Naas.

[1] Black Book of Limerick (ed. Mac Caffrey), p. 114.

[2] Cal. Inquis. P. M., Ed. I, vol. ii, p. 252.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, pp. 260, 340.

[4] In 1215, when Gerald's son Maurice came of age, he obtained seisin of his father's lands and of the castle of Crumeth (Croom) of his inheritance: Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147.

[5] Rot. Chart., 1 John, p. 196. David, third Baron of Naas, gave all his land of 'Karkytil' to his daughter Matilda in frank marriage with John Pincerna: Gormanston Register, f. 192 dors.

a castle in 1510. This was presumably the site of the twelfth-century castle.

William de Burgh had lands about Kilfeakle in the barony of Clanwilliam, County Tipperary. Here, as we have seen, a mote-castle was erected in 1192, and near at hand he founded the Augustinian priory of Athassel, about the year 1200.[1] Extensive ruins of this priory remain and attest its former magnificence. The main building has been assigned on architectural grounds to the middle of the thirteenth century.[2] The manor of Kilsheelan, too, on the Suir below Clonmel, where a mote marks the castle site, probably belonged to William de Burgh from even an earlier period,[3] and both it and Kilfeakle were important manors of his son Richard.[4] In 1199 John gave William de Burgh ARDPATRICK with part of the cantred of Fontimel.[5] This is supposed to refer to the place now known as Knockpatrick, in the parish of Robertstown,

[1] Ware. In 1206 King John confirmed the prior and canons in their possessions, without the demesne of William de Burgh, and granted them protection : Rot. Chart., 7 John, p. 165.

[2] See Paper by Dr. Cochrane, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, pp. 279–89.

[3] The grant by 'John son of the King of England and Duke of Ireland to William de Burgh of half a cantred at Tilra'ct in which is Kilsela, to be holden by the service of two knights' (H. M. C. 3rd Rep., p. 231), probably refers to Kilsheelan.

[4] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2422, 2607.

[5] Rot. Chart., 1 John, p. 19 b.

north of Shanid. A castle is said to have been built at Ardpatrick in 1198,[1] but nothing else is known to connect the de Burghs with the place. Perhaps it was forfeited by William de Burgh along with other lands in 1203, and not restored.[2] In the year 1201 John is said to have given the tuath of CASTLECONAING (Castleconnell) to William de Burgh, 'yet so that if he shall fortify the castle, and we shall desire to have it in our own hands, we shall give him a reasonable exchange for it.[3] The castle here was built on an isolated flat-topped rock, close to the Shannon, above Limerick. The manor belonged to William de Burgh's descendants for many centuries. At least one other manor in the County Limerick belonged to William de Burgh. This was the manor of ESCLON[4] (Ir. *Aes Cluana*), a district now comprised in the parish of Kilkeedy,[5] in

[1] Ware's Annals, 1198. There is another Ardpatrick near Kilmallock.

[2] Robert de Guher had a castle not far off from quite early in the thirteenth century.

[3] Ware's Annals, and Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1201. It was probably the site of an Irish fortress. According to the Four Masters it was 'at their own house at *Caislén ui Conaing*' that Donnell O'Brien blinded two of his rivals to the throne, in 1175.

[4] William de Burgh made a grant of some lands of his fee of Escluona to Donatus O'Brien, Bishop of Limerick, ob. 1207; Black Book of Limerick, p. 110.

[5] 'Ecclesia de Escluana alias Kylkyde cuius Rector est prior de Athissell': Taxation, 1418, Black Book of Limerick, p. 146.

the barony of Pubblebrian. The 'castle of Askelon' (under which more familiar title that of Aes Cluana first appears) was 'restored' to Richard de Burgh in 1215,[1] and the manor appears afterwards as belonging to him and his descendants, earls of Ulster. In all probability the castle-site was that well known as Carrigogunnell (properly *Carraig ui gCoinnell*, or the 'Rock of the O'Connells') though in the thirteenth century the castle is nearly always called, from the district or manor, the 'Castle of Esclon'.[2]

[1] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147 b, where it appears as 'Askelon'.

[2] Mr. Westropp, however, thinks that the two castles were distinct (see his Paper, showing great research, on Carrigogunnell Castle, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, pp. 379–82); but his principal argument against their identity, viz. that 'Carrigogunnell was granted in 1209 (*sic*) to O'Brien, while Esclon was held by de Burgo', loses all force and indeed supports the opposite view, when we recollect that the manor of Esclon was in John's hand from 1206, when William de Burgh died (Rot. Pat., 7 John, p. 60 b), until 1213, when Richard, his son, came of age and obtained seisin of his father's lands (Rot. Pat., 16 John, p. 118 b). This very fact would enable John to deal with the castle and manor, and in the Annals of Inisfallen, the sole authority for the supposed inconsistent 'grant', it is merely stated that Donnough Cairbrech O'Brien at Waterford (i.e. in 1210) 'received a charter for Carrigogunnell and the lordship thereunto belonging, for which he was to pay a yearly rent of sixty marks' (see Four Masters, anno 1209, p. 163, note). John was quite capable of making a grant in fee of his minor's property, but after all it appears that he did nothing inconsistent with the minor's rights—at least, not by this charter.

The site—'a volcanic plateau of trap rock and ash falling in low cliffs at nearly every point'—is marked out by nature as the castle-site of the district. Indeed, like that of Castleconnell, it was probably occupied by a fortress in pre-Norman times. No part of the existing building, however, is supposed to date from the thirteenth century.

Geoffrey de Marisco (or Mareis), who was nephew of Archbishop Cumin, and played an important, but not always creditable, part in the affairs of Ireland, had a manor at Anya (*Aine*, now KNOCKAINY), though it is not certain that he was the first grantee.[1] Near this, at Hospital, he founded a preceptory for knights of St. John before 1215.[2] In 1226 he was granted a fair at this manor, and also at ADARE on the Maigue,[3] which may have belonged to him from the first. After his outlawry, c. 1236, both manors escheated to the Crown. Anya was for

Geoffrey de Marisco.

[1] Perhaps the grant of 'Katherain' with ten knights' fees to Geoffrey (Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 80) refers to Aine, but the mandate (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 529) that the men of Anya (i.e. the Hospitallers ?) were to hold their lands as in the time of William de Lacy seems to imply that the latter had been owner.

[2] Ware's statement to the above effect is partly confirmed by the mandate in 1215 that 'the knights of the valley of Anya should have their liberty saving a moiety of their service to the king': Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 673; cf. nos. 675, 676.

[3] Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, p. 126.

some time retained by the king, but Adare soon passed to the Fitz Geralds of Offaly.

Geoffrey Fitz Robert.

Geoffrey Fitz Robert, baron of Kells in Ossory, appears to have been the first grantee of the manor of Grene or Esgrene [1] (*Aes Gréine*, now PALLAS GREAN). After his death it came into the king's hand, when it was let to the Bishop of Emly, who confirmed the gift of the church (evidently Geoffrey's gift) to the monastery of Kells.[2] In 1233 the manor was granted during pleasure to Maurice Fitz Gerald of Offaly.[3] About forty yards from the later castle-site at Pallas Green is a mote.

The castles erected by the lords of these manors were probably all of the keep and bailey plan. Like those found almost universally in the earlier settlements in the east of Ireland, the works at Shanid and Pallas Green, and perhaps at Adare, Aney, and other places, included a mote or artificial mound of earth as a substratum for the *turris* or keep. The castle-sites at Askeaton, Castleconnell, Esclon (Carrigogunnell), and Carrickittle appear to have comprised an isolated rock forming a

[1] Register of the Monastery of Kells. In the Charter Roll, 1 John, p. 28, is a grant to Geoffrey Fitz Robert of a fee of five knights at 'Radhoger' in the cantred of Huhene (*Uaithne*), which probably included Pallas Grean.

[2] Rot. Claus., 18 John, p. 279; Register of Kells.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2045. In 1234 Maurice was granted a fair at his manor of Gren: ibid., no. 2182.

natural substitute for an artificial mound of earth. In these cases probably the tower and its defences were of stone from the first. In the occupation of the kingdom of Limerick south of the Shannon the settlers were assisted by the O'Briens, and seem to have met with comparatively slight opposition. Hence there was the less need of hastily throwing up earthworks. Rock-sites suitable to their purposes were often at hand, and being able now to obtain the skilled labour required and the necessary materials they could build more leisurely and more effectively in stone.

Church property.

The property of the see of Limerick was respected, and in 1201 an inquisition was held by William de Burgh, who is described as 'Vicar of Munster', as to its lands. This inquisition was taken by the oaths of 36 jurors, composed of 12 Englishmen, 12 Ostmen, and 12 Irishmen (including Conor Roe O'Brien), and was certified by Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar.[1] At this time the bishop was Donough or Donatus O'Brien, presumably a member of the ruling family, who had been appointed about the time of the English occupation. John had already granted him protection, and the royal letter speaks warmly of the bishop's devotion to John's interests.[2] About the same time the Cistercian

[1] Black Book of Limerick, nos. xxiii, xxiv.

[2] Ibid., no. xxxix, apparently before John's accession.

abbey of Monasteranenagh was confirmed in the possession of a long list of lands about Lough Gur.[1]

Other grants were made by King John in September 1199, or soon afterwards—some of them dealing with lands to the north of the Shannon—but those mentioned above were historically the most important, and may suffice to show the system adopted in the feudalization of North Munster. The whole 'kingdom' was not conveyed in one vast fief to a single grantee to be sub-infeudated and organized by him, but the land was parcelled out by the king himself among a number of tenants-in-chief, most of them holding five knights' fees or even smaller quantities, and rendering in knight-service one-third of that quota to the Crown.

The Honour of Limerick granted to William de Braose.

In January 1201, however, John disturbed this arrangement, and with his usual capriciousness reverted to the former policy of making one supreme lord, by granting the honour of Limerick to William de Braose.[2] William was nephew of Philip de Braose, who had been granted the 'kingdom of Limerick' by King Henry in 1177, but, as we have seen, Philip had failed to prosecute his claims, and the grant had been treated as lapsed. William de Braose was a great landholder in Sussex and Devon, and in the

[1] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 78. [2] Ibid., p. 84 b.

Breichiniog in Wales. He is represented by Giraldus as an excessively pious man, always prefacing his actions by saying, 'Let this be done in the name of the Lord,' paying his clerks extra for concluding his letters with the words 'by divine assistance', and never passing a church without saying a prayer.[1] Nevertheless, this piety did not restrain him from acts of the grossest cruelty and treachery, such as the massacre of the chieftains of Gwent at Abergavenny Castle in 1176.[2] William de Braose was connected with some of the magnates of England. Giles, one of his sons, was Bishop of Hereford. One of his daughters was married to Gruffudd ap Rhys, and another to Walter de Lacy. He had been a strong supporter of John's succession to the throne, and in the year 1200 John had granted him all the lands which he had acquired, or might in future acquire, from the king's enemies of Wales as an increase to his barony of Radnor.[3] Soon afterwards John thought further to reward him and benefit his own pocket by the sale to him of the honour of Limerick for 5,000 marks, to be paid at the rate of 500 marks a year. The honour was co-extensive with Henry's grant to Philip de Braose, that is

[1] Gir. Camb.; Itin. Camb.

[2] Brut y Tywys. 1175, p. 227. Giraldus minimizes the connexion of William de Braose with this affair.

[3] Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 66 b.

to say, it included the whole 'kingdom of Limerick', and was to be held by the service of sixty knights. There were some exceptions from the grant. The king retained in his demesne the city of Limerick, the gift of bishoprics and abbeys and all royalties, the cantred of the Ostmen, and the Holy Island. A special exception was made of the lands and tenements of William de Burgh, who was still in favour, and was to continue to hold of the king in chief.

Consequences of this grant.

This grant, as might have been anticipated, created a flutter among the settlers in North Munster. By it Theobald Walter and Philip of Worcester, who held vast districts in the County Tipperary, and the new grantees other than William de Burgh in the County Limerick, were deprived of the privileged position of tenants-in-chief, and were reduced to the subordinate status of under-tenants owing fealty to William de Braose. Moreover, they would have to make terms with their new lord if they were to continue to hold their lands. Theobald Walter, indeed, procured a contemporaneous grant of his lands from William de Braose for the sum of 500 marks. By this grant, which is still extant, William granted to Theobald five and a half cantreds in Munster (being in fact the lands which Theobald had previously held under John's grant of 1185), to be held of William by

the service of twenty-two knights.[1] Philip of Worcester, on the other hand, tried the arbitrament of the sword,[2] and 'a great war broke out' between him and William de Braose, and Magh Feimhin (a plain to the north of the Suir, including Knockgraffon) was wasted by them.[3] Even Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar, appears to have been reluctant to carry out the king's mandates touching the affair of William de Braose, until the king summoned him to come to him and put the government into commission consisting of Humphrey de Tickhill and Geoffrey de Costentin.[4] Then in August 1202, John sent a peremptory mandate to Philip of Worcester to deliver up to William de Braose all his lands and castles, including Knockgraffon, in the honour of Limerick.[5] Philip probably submitted, as we find him in 1207 and afterwards employed by

[1] Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Ireland, vol. ii, no. lxvii, and see *supra*, p. 102. The parcels were as follows: the burgh of Kildelo (*Cill da lua*, Killaloe) with half the cantred called Truoheked Maleth (*Tricha ced o m-bloid*) in which the burgh is situated, and the entire cantred of Elykaruel (*Eile ui Cearbhaill*, the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit, King's County), Elyhohogarthy (*Eile ui Fhogartaigh*, Eliogarty), Ewurmun (*Oir Mumhan*, Ormond), Areth and Wetheni (*Ara* and *Uaithne*, Ara and Owney, Tipperary), Owethenihokathelan (*Uaithne ui Cathalain*), and Owenihoiffernan (*Uaithne ui h-Ifearnain*)—these two last were districts in Owney beg, County Limerick: Topogr. Poems, p. 130.

[2] Roger de Hoveden, iv. 153.

[3] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.).

[4] Rot. Pat., 3 John, p. 4.

[5] Ibid., 4 John, p. 16 b.

John in confidential affairs of state,[1] and in 1215, after the outlawry of William de Braose, Philip was granted five cantreds in Southern Tipperary, including the castles of Knockgraffon, Kiltinan, and Ardmayle.[2]

Custody of the city of Limerick.

With regard to the city of Limerick, John's policy was marked by even greater tergiversation. At first the custody was given to William de Burgh, but in the opening years of the thirteenth century, as we shall see in the next chapter, William de Burgh was actively engaged in the affairs of Connaught, and in 1203 came to loggerheads with Meiler, the justiciar, and fell under the suspicion of the king himself. Accordingly, on the 8th of July in this year, John gave the custody of Limerick to William de Braose at the yearly farm of 100 marks.[3] Disturbances, however, continued, and on the 2nd of November, 1204, John ordered Walter de Lacy, who acted as bailiff for his father-in-law, William de Braose, to deliver up the city to Meiler, as the king had been informed (probably by Meiler himself) that he could not maintain peace in his lands of Connaught and Cork, nor rule those lands unless he held in his hand the city of Limerick with the cantred[4]

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 377, 379, 385.
[2] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147 b.
[3] Rot. Chart., 5 John, p. 107; cf. Ann. Loch Cé, 1203.
[4] Rot. Pat., 6 John, p. 47.

(of the Ostmen). It is not clear what action, if any, was immediately taken under this mandate. At any rate, on the 23rd of August, 1205, John once more gave the custody of Limerick to William de Braose.[1] At this moment the de Lacys were high in favour with the king, and Meiler was ordered to wage no war except by their advice.[2] It was probably in the winter of 1206–7 that Meiler, son of Meiler Fitz Henry, took Limerick by force.[3] Hence, it is said, great disturbances broke out between Meiler and the de Lacys in Meath. Before the 12th of February, 1207, William de Braose complained that Meiler and his son had seized his constablewick (Limerick), his knights, men, land, and chattels, although he had not been wanting in right; and John, with characteristic double-dealing, while ordering the knights, land, &c., to be restored, directed Meiler to retain the city of Limerick if it had been taken into the king's hand,[4] and on the 21st ordered that Meiler's son should not

[1] Rot. Claus., 7 John, p. 47 b. [2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Four Masters, 1205 (probably antedated by one year). Walter de Lacy appears to have been again bailiff for William de Braose in Limerick. See the king's letter to the barons of Meath, Feb. 21, 1207: Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 69. Up to this date the barons had been quiet.

[4] Rot. Claus., 8 John, p. 77 b. A month later the king seized Walter de Lacy's castle of Ludlow, and summoned him to stand to right in the king's court; Rot. Pat., 8 John, pp. 69 b, 70 b.

answer for the taking of Limerick except before the king.[1] It is easy to believe that William de Braose did not find his Irish lordship very profitable, but he was soon to lose it and everything else at the hands of his vindictive and ruthless master.

[1] Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 69. It is clear that these mandates refer to the forcible taking of Limerick by Meiler's son, wrongly placed by the Four Masters *sub anno* 1205. Miss Norgate has, I think, here missed the true sequence of events: John Lackland, pp. 144–5.

CHAPTER XIX

WILLIAM DE BURGH IN CONNAUGHT 1200–6

At the close of the twelfth century, when the settlers in the kingdom of Limerick were beginning to establish their manors, and to extend the feudal organization throughout the district, the aggressive action of Cathal Crovderg O'Conor and his conflict with his rival, Cathal Carragh, afforded at once a pretext and an occasion for the interference of the English in Connaught. Accordingly the affairs of that province now demand our attention.

Contests for the throne of Connaught.

Since 1177, when Murrough O'Conor brought Miles de Cogan into Connaught 'for evil towards his father',[1] no attempt against the king of that province seems to have been made by the English. In 1183 Rory O'Conor, we are told, 'went on his pilgrimage' to the monastery of Cong and left the sovereignty in the hands of his son, Conor Maenmoy.[2] Probably the ex-*ard-rí* was forced into this cloistral retirement by the more energetic spirit of his son. The latter was clearly not disposed to observe the restrictions

[1] *Supra*, p. 26.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1183.

of the treaty of Windsor, and next year we find him in company with an O'Melaghlin invading Meath and destroying an unnamed castle.[1] In 1185 Rory 'came from his pilgrimage', but, like many another king, he found it easier to lay aside than to reassume the reins of authority. A general war broke out in Connaught among the 'roydamnas' or aspirants to the throne. These were Rory himself, Conor Maenmoy and Conor O'Dermot (sons of Rory), Cathal Carragh (son of Conor Maenmoy), and Cathal Crovderg, a younger brother of Rory. Rory obtained the assistance of Donnell O'Brien, and the English of Munster—assistance which took the form of burning and pillaging the churches of the west of Connaught. In spite of a patched-up peace, Cathal Carragh in retaliation burned and plundered Killaloe. Conor Maenmoy, who was aided by some English mercenaries, now once more assumed the kingship, and next year expelled his father from Connaught.[2] In 1187 Conor Maenmoy, anxious probably to secure his position by some exploit against the English, made an incursion into West Meath, and burned and demolished the castle of Killare.[3] It was

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1184—if indeed this entry be not anticipatory of the destruction of Killare in 1187 (Four Masters).

[2] For these events see Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, and Four Masters, 1185–6.

[3] Four Masters, 1187.

in reply to this attack, and probably with the object of reinstating Rory O'Conor, that next year John de Courcy, the justiciar, and the English of Ireland, accompanied by two of Rory's sons, made the unsuccessful expedition already noticed into Connaught.[1] In 1189 Conor Maenmoy, who seems to have been a strong king, was murdered by his own people at the instigation of his brother, Conor O'Dermot.[2] The Sil Murray, Rory's own tribe, now invited Rory to resume the kingship, but his own family would not support him. Cathal Crovderg must now be regarded as King of Connaught, though he was opposed by some influential tribesmen, and an attempt by the successor of Patrick (the Archbishop of Armagh) and others to reconcile him and Cathal Carragh proved unavailing.[3]

Death of Rory O'Conor, 1198.

As for Rory O'Conor, we find him in 1191 going to Tirconnell, then to Tirowen, then to the English of Meath, and lastly to Munster, seeking in vain for assistance to recover his kingdom. Finally the Sil Murray gave him some lands in the south of the County Galway, and he died in 1198, in the monastery of Cong. Modern writers usually characterize him as a weak and

[1] *Supra*, p. 116.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1189. Conor O'Dermot was killed in the same year by Cathal Carrach.

[3] Four Masters, 1190.

irresolute prince, and regard it as the crowning misfortune of his country that he should have been *ard-rí* at the time of the English invasion. But the records in the Irish annals show that just before the coming of the English Rory O'Conor came more nearly to forcing his rule over the length and breadth of Ireland than any provincial king had succeeded in doing since the days of Brian. There is no reason to suppose that any one else would have fared better. It was the clan-system and the weakness and irresolution inherent in it, rather than lack of courage and determination in any individual, that rendered continuous and united opposition to the foreigners impossible. There was no national sense of country—only a 'tribal patriotism' and consequent anarchy.

English mercenaries in Connaught.

From the above summary it appears that as early as 1185 there were some English in Connaught. They were mercenary troops employed by Conor Maenmoy in his struggle against his father, and probably consisted of a body of deserters in that year from John's army.[1] Then

[1] *v. supra*, p. 101. Conor Maenmoy is described by the Four Masters (1189) as 'King of all Connaught both English and Irish', and after his death when the king of Tirconnell entered Connaught 'all the Conacians both English and Irish came to oppose him'. In the Gesta Hen. (i. 339) it is said of John's army, 'Maxima pars equitum et peditum qui cum eo venerant ab eo recesserunt, et ad Hibernenses contra eum pugnaturos perrexerunt.'

in 1193–5, as we have seen,[1] Gilbert de Nangle, with a band from Meath, took service under Cathal Crovderg and joined in Cathal's Munster raid of the latter year. For this Gilbert was outlawed, but he obtained the cantred of Maenmagh, a district about Loughrea, County Galway, from Cathal, and remained permanently in his service.

Cathal Crovderg's position as King of Connaught was probably recognized by the Peace of Athlone (1195), whatever the exact conditions of that peace may have been; and for the following four years he confined his military operations to his own province, where he was still opposed by influential chieftains. In 1199, however, he broke out again, burned the bawn of Athlone, killed many persons, and carried off many cows.[2] A mote-fortress appears to have been already erected here—perhaps under the conditions of the Peace of Athlone—to guard the ford (or wooden bridge) across the Shannon at this strategic point. The existing castle commands the gate of Connaught, and has had an eventful history, but in all the storm and stress through which it has passed it has embraced within its strong walls, up to the present battle-

Cathal Crovderg.

Plunders Athlone.

[1] *v. supra*, p. 154.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1199. The text has simply *bodhun Atha*, 'the bawn of the ford,' but as the editor says, *Ath-luain* (Athlone) is probably meant.

ments on the river-side, a great mass of made earth, which, there is little doubt, represents a mote such as the Normans at this time usually raised for their fortresses.[1] Next year (1200) Cathal Crovderg, with Mc Costello in his company, followed up this exploit by a cattle-raid in West Meath.[2] These were unprovoked attacks. Now came the turning-point. He led a hosting against Cathal Carragh, with whom he had made peace in the previous year, and to whom he had assigned lands in the extreme south of the province. This is described by the annalist as 'a treacherous and malicious hosting, of which came the destruction of Connaught and his own destruction'.[3] It was indeed the occasion of renewed civil war in Connaught, with consequent ravaging and plundering of the province. The assistance of powerful Anglo-Norman lords was invoked by one side or the other. There was shifting of alliances, and a good deal of (at first sight) confused fighting. It resulted in the definite dependence of the kings of Connaught on the English Crown, and the gradual acquisition of lands or of claims to lands here and there in the province by William de Burgh and others, and ultimately, about a generation later, to the effective partition of the province and the

Attacks Cathal Carragh.

[1] See my paper, 'Athlone Castle: Its Early History,' Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, pp. 257–76.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1200.

[3] Ibid.

virtual domination of William de Burgh's son. In order to see how the first stages of these important results were brought about it will be necessary to recount briefly the main facts of the conflict between the two Cathals, and, in particular, of the part played by the English therein, as they may be gleaned from the annals,[1] filling up gaps and testing the story, as far as may be, from the English records and other available sources.

Cathal Crovderg's attempt to entrap Cathal Carragh did not succeed, and a detachment sent to capture him was badly beaten. Cathal Carragh, however, knew that he could not stand up alone against the King of Connaught, so he invoked the assistance of William de Burgh, at this time governor of Limerick, and delivered to him his own son as a pledge for the pay of the

Who invokes aid from William de Burgh.

[1] The various annalists do not differ materially as to the chief events of these campaigns or as to their sequence, but vary as to the dates. The fullest and most coherent account, and apparently the true chronology, are given in the Annals of Loch Cé. Thus John de Courcy's intervention (and the death of Rory MacDunlevy) are fixed to the year 1201 by Roger de Hoveden. John, cardinal priest and papal legate, was in Ireland in August 1202 (Rot. Pat., 4 John, m. 10, Cal. no. 168). William de Burgh's turning against Cathal Crovderg seems to be fixed to the year 1203 by John's mandate of the 7th July of that year granting a safe-conduct to William (Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 31 b), and by the grant of the custody of Limerick to William de Braose on the following day.

foreigners. William de Burgh had a score to pay off against Cathal Crovderg for the Munster hosting of 1195, and perhaps for the burning of 'the bawn of Limerick and Castleconnell' early in 1200.[1] The King of Connaught had also forfeited the favour of the Crown by his attack on Athlone and raid into Meath. It is probable that William de Burgh thought the moment favourable to endeavour to make effective John's grant to him of Connaught, to which we have alluded. Accordingly he assembled a large force from Dublin and Leinster as well as from Limerick and Munster, and, accompanied by two of the sons of Donnell O'Brien and their Irish forces, came to the assistance of Cathal Carragh. Some of the Connaught tribes at once gave hostages to Cathal Carragh, and Cathal Crovderg, unable to face the forces opposed to him, retreated to the north of Ireland to seek assistance there. Then the rest of Connaught was harried ruthlessly into submission, and Cathal Carragh assumed the nominal kingship.

Cathal Carragh becomes king.

Next year (1201) Cathal Crovderg made two attempts to recover his kingship. In the first he was accompanied by O'Neill, King of Tirowen, and O'Hegney, King of Fermanagh, but the com-

[1] It is not quite certain that this took place before William's advance into Connaught. It is given as an isolated entry near the end of the entries for the year 1200 in the Annals of Loch Cé.

bination failed through disunion in the camp. The northern chieftains, when they undertook the campaign, understood that there were no foreigners against them, and they refused to face William de Burgh. The consequence was they were cut off in detail. O'Hegney was slain, and O'Neill had to give hostages. In the second attempt Cathal Crovderg was assisted by John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy. The latter, as we have seen, had received a speculative grant from William de Burgh of the northern third of Connaught,[1] but as he was ostensibly acting on behalf of Cathal Crovderg, whom William had just expelled from Connaught, he can hardly have been relying at this time on William's grant. It appears, in fact, that John, when Earl of Mortain, had made a similarly speculative grant to Hugh de Lacy of six cantreds in the north of Connaught,[2] and it was probably in the hope of taking possession of these that Hugh made this second expedition in company with John de

De Courcy assists Cathal Crovderg 1201.

[1] *Supra*, p. 156.

[2] See the cancelled charter of King John to Hugh de Lacy in 1204, confirming the grant of six cantreds in Connaught made by the king when Earl of Mortain: Rot. Chart., 6 John, p. 139 b. The cantreds were the Three Tuatha, Moylurg-Tirerrill, Moy Ai, Corran, Slieve Lugha, and Leyney, to be held of the king in fee by the service of twenty knights. It was not until about 1229 that Hugh de Lacy obtained an effective grant in Connaught, and then the grantor was William de Burgo's son Richard: Gormanston Register, f. 189.

Courcy into Connaught. According to the Irish annals he marched through three of the cantreds granted to him by John, namely Corann, Moylurg, and Moy Ai. Then he went further south as far as Kilmacduagh in the attempt to recover the spoil which Cathal Carragh had driven off. The host, however, was caught in a pass through the woods, and defeated, and John de Courcy with difficulty led his army back by Tuam and Roscommon to Rinn-dúin, and so by boats across Lough Ree.[1]

English support transferred to Cathal Crovderg.

And now a curious change of alliances took place, the cause of which is obscured by what seems to be a mutilation in the annals. Up to this point William de Burgh, and apparently the English government too, favoured Cathal Carragh; but now, at the moment when Cathal Crovderg had twice failed to recover his kingdom, the support of both William and the Crown was transferred to him. How is this change of policy to be explained? We are told that 'when the foreigners arrived in Meath (i.e. after the retreat across Lough Ree) they arrested Cathal Crovderg as a pledge for the payment of wages, and that he [Cathal] was taken to Dublin until he gave pledges for himself that he would obey the King

Probable explanation.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1201. Rinn-dúin, 'the Point of the dun,' is a promontory jutting into Lough Ree. It was afterwards the site of an important castle, as to which see Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, p. 274.

of the Saxons'.[1] In all probability Cathal Crovderg at this time, in consideration of being recognized as King of Connaught by the English king, and being assisted to recover his throne, agreed to surrender some lands in Connaught to the Crown. We can even fix pretty confidently what these lands were. In November 1200 John had granted to Geoffrey de Costentin a cantred near Athlone afterwards known as the Fews of Athlone, and in April 1201 this grant was amplified by the addition of the adjoining cantred of Tirmany. Probably Cathal now agreed to the surrender of at least these cantreds. At any rate, it is certain that from this time forward Cathal Crovderg was supported by the Crown, even when William de Burgh turned against him, and that he soon agreed to give even a larger slice of his territory to the Crown.

As to John de Courcy, we have the independent account of Roger de Hoveden that he was treacherously entrapped in this year (1201) by Hugh de Lacy, his late companion-in-arms, into his castle[2] 'for the purpose of delivering him up

[1] This is the translation of the passage as it originally stood in the Annals of Loch Cé, but the name Eoain (John) has been interlined, so as to make the passage mean that John de Courcy was taken to Dublin and gave the pledges. But it is probable that the statement as originally written was correct.

[2] This was no doubt the castle of Nobber, to which, as stated in the Annals of Clonmacnois, Cathal Carragh (*recte* Cathal Crovderg) was also at first taken. The Annals of

to the King of England, who had long wished to take him', but that John de Courcy's men ravaged the lands of the de Lacys until their lord was delivered up to them.[1]

Secret commission.

On November 2, 1201, the king gave a secret commission to Meiler Fitz Henry, William de Burgh, and Geoffrey de Costentin, and commanded the barons of Meath to have faith in what these commissioners should tell them on the king's behalf.[2] This may have been the way the new policy of supporting Cathal Crovderg was communicated. At any rate, Cathal himself, on being released, went to William de Burgh, who, in accordance with the new policy, early in 1202, accompanied by Murtough Finn, Conor Roe, and Fineen Mc Carthy, marched with Cathal Crovderg into Connaught and proceeded to fortify himself at the monastery of Boyle. While the fortification was going on, Cathal Carragh was killed in a skirmish in the neighbourhood. Thus the war came to an end. The O'Briens and Fineen Mc Carthy returned to their homes, William de Burgh's troops were billeted throughout Connaught, while William himself and Cathal Crovderg went in all friendship to spend Easter at Cong.

Hosting by William de Burgh, 1202.

Cathal Carragh slain.

Inisfallen mention that John de Courcy 'was taken prisoner by the sons of Hugh de Lacy, by the advice of the King of England'.

[1] Roger de Hoveden, 1201. [2] Rot. Pat., 3 John, p. 2 b.

But to secure peace it is not always enough for rulers to agree, if their peoples are not friendly at heart. Besides, in this case it was Cathal's people who had to pay in the coin of cows for past services. On a false rumour that William was dead the Connaught men acted 'as if they had taken counsel together', and each tribe killed the foreign soldiers billeted upon them, to the number altogether of 900 or more. We may acquit Cathal of all treachery in this matter, and yet not wonder that this massacre led to a rupture between him and William de Burgh.[1]

Massacre of William's troops.

So far William de Burgh had clearly acted in accordance with the new arrangement with Cathal Crovderg, but now, early in 1203, accompanied by the sons of Conor Maenmoy, he entered Connaught, probably to take possession, in spite

William invades Connaught, 1203.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1202. In describing this massacre as the consequence of a plot by de Burgh against Cathal's life, Miss Norgate does not display her usual care; nor in calling William a double-dyed traitor does she show her usual restraint of language (John Lackland, p. 139). The account in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1202, hints indeed at an uneffected plot, but as the direct consequence, not the cause, of the massacre. Even the entries in the Annals of Clonmacnois followed by the Four Masters (a much inferior authority, especially for Connaught) do not warrant this harsh judgement on William de Burgh. It is true that he twice changed his alliances; once apparently in consequence of the changed policy of his lord, and again in consequence of the treacherous massacre of his troops. If for such changes he deserved to be called 'a double-dyed traitor', what words are left for, say, Donnell O'Brien?

of Cathal Crovderg, of some lands which he had been granted there, perhaps by King John in 1195, perhaps by one or other of the Cathals. He erected a castle at Meelick, near the Shannon, in the County Galway, 'and the spot where the castle was erected was round the great church of the place, which was filled round about with earth and stones up to the gables.'[1] In other words, it seems that the church of Meelick was used as the core of a mote for the new castle. From this castle William de Burgh and his Connaught allies devastated the country, going as far as Knockmoy, Mayo, and Cong. Cathal was unable to resist him, until Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar, and Walter de Lacy summoned William to Limerick in the name of the king. Evidently the Crown still held by the arrangement with Cathal Crovderg. William then submitted, recalled the garrison of Meelick, and surrendered Limerick and his Munster castles to Meiler as the king's representative.[2] In the July of this year the king gave William a safe-conduct to and from the king's court, provided he answered the complaints made against him

Is summoned before the king.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1203. I have given the words their literal meaning, and this rendering brings out the nature of the work more clearly than the editor's rendering.

[2] This is evident from the statement in the Annals of Loch Cé (1203) of what occurred, when read in connexion with the records. Up to this period William de Burgh had the confidence of the king.

by Meiler.[1] At the same time the custody of Limerick was given to William de Braose.[2] By October William de Burgh had been to the king and was so far restored to favour that the lands he had pledged and the castles of Kilfeakle and Askeaton were to be restored to him, but the justiciar was to keep in safe custody William's sons and other hostages.[3]

Evidently John was not very angry with William de Burgh. Meiler, however, formulated complaints against him, and he against Meiler. In March 1204 the king took the unusual course of appointing a special commission to try and determine the cross plaints between Meiler and William.[4] A month later John virtually overrode the jurisdiction of this commission by respiting all plaints against William de Burgh (whom he intended at the time to take to Normandy with him) and commanding the justiciar to give full seisin to William or his agents of all his lands except the land of Connaught, which was to remain in the king's hand.[5] It would

His lands, except Connaught, restored.

[1] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 31 b.

[2] Rot. Chart., 5 John, p. 107.

[3] Liberate, 5 John, p. 67. Askeaton, as we have seen, must have been granted to William de Burgh after Hamo de Valognes' death or forfeiture.

[4] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 39 b. The commissioners were Walter de Lacy, Henri de Londres, then archdeacon of Stafford, Godfrey Lutterel, one of the king's trusted officers, and William Petit.

[5] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 41 b.

appear, however, that this mandate was not immediately carried out, as it was virtually repeated in the September following. William had undertaken to stand his trial in the king's court in Ireland to answer all appeals, and Connaught was to be retained in the king's hand (theoretically, we must suppose) pending the result of the trial.[1] How the trial ended, or whether it ever took place, does not appear.

Death of William de Burgh.

William returned to Ireland, but only to die in the winter of 1205–6.[2] In April 1206 Meiler Fitz Henry was ordered to take into the king's hand all William's lands.[3] His son Richard was a minor, and did not get seisin until 1214.[4]

His character.

The annalist of Clonmacnois, a place which William de Burgh had plundered from his castle of Meelick, shows his animus against him and exhibits the prevailing superstition of the time by ascribing his death to a loathsome disease inflicted on him by God and the patrons of the churches he had plundered. But the translator adds: 'These and many other reproachful words my author layeth down in the old book, which I was loath to translate because they were uttered by him for the disgrace of so worthy and noble

[1] Rot. Pat., 6 John, p. 46. [2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1205.

[3] Rot. Pat., 7 John, p. 60 b.

[4] Ibid., 16 John, p. 118 b. Another son, Hubert, became Prior of Athassel and afterwards (1223) Bishop of Limerick.

a man as William Burke was, and left out other his reproachful words which he (as I conceive) rather declared of an evil will he did bear towards the said William than any other just cause.' O'Donovan, assuming, as has been usually done, that William de Burgh was the same person as William Fitz Audelin, endeavours to defend the annalist as against the translator by adducing the unfavourable description of Fitz Audelin given by Giraldus.[1] It is strange that O'Donovan did not perceive that this description could not possibly apply in its entirety to William de Burgh. Giraldus again and again sneers at the slothfulness and cowardice of William Fitz Audelin,[2] but these qualities were surely alien to the 'William Burke' of the annalists. William de Burgh was probably neither better nor worse than other vigorous spirits of the age, but no man could master two provinces of Ireland in the course of a decade, as he did, without being both energetic and brave.

Why the Normans plundered churches.

As to the plundering of churches and monasteries so often laid to the charge of eminent Anglo-Norman leaders—and indeed to Irish

[1] Four Masters, 1204, note *o*.

[2] Giraldus speaks of Fitz Audelin as 'Imbellium debellator, rebellium blanditor; hosti suavissimus, subdito gravissimus' (v. 338); he also exclaims at his unfitness for a lord-marcher, 'strenuitate carens' (p. 352), one whose maxim was 'Hostibus illaesis semper spoliare subactos' (p. 391), and much more to the same effect.

chieftains too—by the monkish annalists, a further word of explanation may be advisable. If we may judge from the number and magnificence of their religious foundations in Ireland, these leaders were certainly not wanting in piety as understood at the time, while the plunder and destruction of churches, as such, was obviously not a military measure. But it was the custom of the Irish to store their corn and other property within the sanctuary of a church, presumably as being safer there than elsewhere. In proof of this we have not only the direct statement of Giraldus that this was the custom, and that in view of it Cardinal Vivian, the papal legate, in 1177 gave permission to the English, on any expedition when they could not get supplies elsewhere, to take what they found in the churches on payment of a just price.[1] At this particular time, however, the men of Connaught, by way of creating desolation before the advance of Miles de Cogan, with their own hands burned what provisions they could not conceal, together with the churches in which they were stored.[2] But the Irish annals themselves afford other instances. Thus in the very passage describing

[1] Gir. Camb. v. 346; cf. the statement on p. 137 that the Irish, not having any castles, used to seek protection for themselves and for their goods in churches.

[2] The Annals of Loch Cé, 1177, here virtually corroborates Giraldus; see above, p. 27.

the harrying of Connaught by Cathal Carragh and William Burke and the two O'Briens, it is said that they carried off 'all the property, stock, or food that was in the churches, without regard to saint or sanctuary or any earthly terror.'[1] In 1214 Thomas Mac Uchtry and Rory Mac Rannall 'carried off the precious things (goods) of the community of Derry, and of the north of Ireland besides, from the middle of the great church of the monastery.'[2] In 1236 Richard de Burgh, endeavouring to quell disturbances in Connaught, went to Tuam and Mayo and other ecclesiastical centres, 'and not a stack of seed or corn of all that was in the great *relig* (churchyard) of Mayo, or in the *relig* of the church of Michael the Archangel, was left without being taken away; and threescore or fourscore baskets were brought out of these churches.'[3] Now to reduce to submission an enemy that will not meet you in the field, and that possesses no castles or fortified towns which might be taken and held against him, almost the sole, and certainly the most merciful, military measure is to

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1200, p. 212, where the words of the text for what was carried off are *cach crodh ocus cach eallach nó bhidh is na templuib.*

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1213; Ann. Ulster, 1214. The word here, *sét*, translated 'precious things', was used to designate goods and chattels of any kind: O'Donovan's supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary.

[3] Ann. Loch Cé, 1236, p. 339.

cut off his provisions and destroy his property. At the present day we are perhaps more soft-hearted, but certainly not more pious than the Normans, and if circumstances should render the taking of a church a measure of prime military importance there is no general who would hesitate to sound the assault.

It was not the methods of William de Burgh, but his policy, that the Irish annalists viewed with disfavour. Had he been an Irishman with the same record he would have been described as 'Flood of the glory and prowess of the Western World.' By some Irish writers he is called 'William the Conqueror', and though he did not fully earn that title he was at least the 'King-maker' of Connaught. No one there could stand against him, and the subsequent kings of Connaught remained subject, and in general obedient, to the English Crown.

CHAPTER XX

WILLIAM THE MARSHAL IN IRELAND 1207–13

At the commencement of the year 1206 William de Burgh and Theobald Walter were both dead. They were succeeded by minors, and their lands were taken into the king's hand. John de Courcy, too, had been banished from Ulster. The leading figures among the Anglo-Normans were Hugh de Lacy, now Earl of Ulster; his brother Walter, Lord of Meath; Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar in Dublin; and in Munster, Walter de Lacy as seneschal for William de Braose, and Geoffrey de Marisco, Thomas Fitz Maurice, and other large landholders there. But early in 1207 there appeared in Leinster a greater than any of these in the person of William Marshal, as he is usually called, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil and Lord of Leinster. Writers of Irish history have said little about this great man, and that little in important points wrong, partly because until recently not much was known of his doings in Ireland. Now, however, we have a most valuable biography of William Marshal in the form of an Old French poem or

William Marshal comes to Ireland, 1207.

His biography.

rhymed chronicle.[1] From its concluding verses the editor infers that it was composed by a professional *trouvère* at the request of William Marshal the younger, from materials, which probably took the form of written memoirs, supplied by John d'Erlée, one of the Marshal's most faithful followers.[2] The work appears to have been completed about the year 1226. For us it supplies several new facts concerning William Marshal in Ireland, throws fresh light on an obscure page of the history of the country, and helps us to form a true estimate of King John's character as displayed in his dealings with his Irish barons.

His early years.

William Marshal was born about the year 1144. His father, John, son of Gilbert, succeeded to the office of Marshal of England granted to Gilbert by Henry I. The office was hereditary, and

[1] L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, ed. Paul Meyer, 1891–1901.

[2] John d'Erlée received his name from a village now called Early in Berkshire, not far from Reading. In Latin documents it appears as Erleia, Erleya, Erleg', Erlegh'. He is first mentioned in the Histoire in 1188, when he was William's esquire, and he appears frequently afterwards. He accompanied his lord to Ireland in 1207 (Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 69), and was given the custody of Southern Leinster when William was summoned back by John. He witnessed the Marshal's charters to Tintern, Dunbrody, Duiske, and Kilkenny, and was granted lands in the County Kilkenny, where the parish name Erleystown (now corruptly Earlstown) long preserved his name.

supplied a surname for the family. In 1152, when about eight years old, William was given as a hostage to King Stephen, then besieging Newbury. His life, according to the rules of war, became forfeit, and it was proposed to place him in the sling of a *pierrière* and hurl him into the castle. But Stephen, won over by the trustful ways of the child, who asked to be given a swing in the machine, would not allow him to be injured, and then we have the pretty picture of the king in his tent playing at jack-straws with the little boy.[1] William is said to have grown to be a well-formed man, perfect in limb as a beautiful statue, with brown locks and a presence that would grace a Roman emperor. 'He who made him,' says the poet, 'was a great Master.'[2] During the years 1170–83 he was a member of the household of Henry 'the young king', a victor in many a tournament, and ever faithful to his lord—even in his revolt against his father—up to the day of his death. He then went to the Holy Land in vicarious fulfilment of the young king's vow, and after his return was one of King Henry's most faithful followers to the last.

Is promised Isabel de Clare in marriage.

It was about May 1189 that Henry, lying ill at Le Mans, promised William the hand of Isabel de Clare, the heiress of Leinster, in recompense for his good service,[3] and ordered Hubert Walter,

[1] Histoire G. le Mar., ll. 467–650.
[2] Ibid., ll. 715–36.
[3] Ibid., ll. 8303, &c.

then Ranulf de Glanville's clerk, to give him possession of the lady and her land on his return to England. When in the following month Henry was flying from Le Mans with the Marshal guarding the rear, Richard of Poitou overtook them. The Marshal turned and spurred towards Richard. 'God's limbs! Marshal,' cried Richard, 'slay me not. That would be foul. I have no hauberk.' 'Nay,' replied the Marshal, 'may the Devil slay thee, for I will not'; and with that he plunged his lance into the horse, threw the rider, and stopped the pursuit.[1] When less than a month later Richard met William beside Henry's bier at Fontevrault, he not only bore him no ill will, but confirmed his father's gift to him of the *damisele d'Estregoil*, and sent him on an important mission to London.[2] On the way he visited the Pays de Caux to take possession of his bride and of some lands there to which she was entitled by inheritance.[3] Then, after accomplishing his mission in England, he married Isabel in London, at the house of the sheriff.

Soon afterwards we have an instructive scene. John refused to give the Marshal seisin of his

[1] Histoire G. le Mar., ll. 8837–49. Gerald de Barry (viii. 236) alludes to this incident, though without mentioning the Marshal's name.

[2] Ibid., ll. 9321–71.

[3] Ibid., ll. 9455–62. Longueville was the *caput* of the fief, which came to Isabel through her father.

Irish lands, and the latter had to seek the king's intervention. Richard insisted, and John reluctantly consented, 'provided,' he said, 'the grants of lands I have made to my men hold good and be confirmed.' 'That cannot be,' said the king. 'For what would then remain to him, seeing that you have given all to your people?' Finally, John asked that the land he had given to Theobald Butler (*au boteillier Tiebaut*) should be left to him. To this the king consented, provided Theobald held of the Marshal in chief.[1] This was not the only case in which John endeavoured to create tenancies to be held of himself in chief in lands which he only possessed in wardship. As we have seen,[2] he seems to have done the same thing in Cork with the lands of Miles de Cogan, and there were probably other cases both in Meath and in Leinster.

John forced to give him seisin of Leinster.

William Marshal did not go to Ireland to take possession of his fief, but sent Reinalt de Kedeville as his bailiff or seneschal for that purpose. The writer of the Histoire calls Reinalt a rogue, and

[1] Ibid., ll. 9581–618. John in Henry's reign had granted Arklow to Theobald Walter, and William Marshal, probably in pursuance of the above arrangement, made a similar grant with additions including Tullow. See Carte's Ormond, Introd., p. xlvi, where Carte was puzzled by the two grants of the same place by different persons. The above scene explains the difficulty.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 45–6.

intimates that he played false to his lord.[1] William himself was now appointed by Richard one of the subordinate justiciars of England, first under Hugh, Bishop of Durham, and then under William de Longchamp, and he held some office of this kind during the whole time Richard was absent from England.[2] Modern writers, following Walter Harris's Table of Chief Governors of Ireland, place William Marshal in that capacity from 1191 to 1194.[3] But, as we have seen, Harris's list, in the early portion at any rate, is full of errors. As for William Marshal, no authority has been produced for inserting

Not justiciar of Ireland.

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 9619–30. In the lines

Reinalt de Kedevile, un fals
Veirement fu de Kedevile
Quer toz diz le servi de gile

there is an evident play on the name, which puzzled the editor. Might not the place-name have suggested the word *chétif* to the *trouvère*? The place intended may have been, as M. Meyer suggests, Quetiéville (formerly Chetivilla, Ketelvilla, Keteuvilla) or Quetteville, both in Calvadoz. Probably the 'caitiff' played into the hands of John in his intrigue with Meiler against the Marshal's lands.

[2] Walter of Coventry, vol. i, pp. 378, 388, 432. William was given the custody of Nottingham Castle on July 28, 1191 (ibid., p. 462), and was acting against William Longchamp in the following October (ibid., vol. ii, p. 5). In March 1193 he was besieging Windsor with his Welsh followers: Roger de Hoveden, iii. 206; Gerv. Cant., vol. i, p. 515; Hist. G. le Mar., l. 9898, &c.

[3] Harris did not invent the statement; for though Ware and Hanmer are silent, Cox makes William Marshal governor from 1191 to 1197.

him in the list, no charters executed by him as governor are forthcoming, not a single act is anywhere ascribed to him in Ireland at this time, and his position and doings in England during these years seem to negative the possibility of his holding office in Ireland. Moreover, it was very much against his will, and only at the king's command, that John put William Marshal in possession of his lands; and we shall find John, when king, refusing William permission to go to Ireland to visit his fief, intriguing against his interests there, and endeavouring to thwart him in every way. The appointment, if made, must have come from John, and John is unlikely to have made it.

After Nottingham was surrendered to Richard in person in 1194, the chancellor (meaning, apparently, William de Longchamp) called upon Walter de Lacy to do homage to the king for his land in Ireland. This Walter did. Then the chancellor called upon William Marshal to do the same. But William refused, saying that it would be felony to John, to whom he had done homage for all that he held of him, and that he would deceive nobody by flattery. The king thereupon said he was right, and the barons approved. William added: 'If any man in the world seeks to obtain Ireland, I shall range myself with all my force on the side of him whose man I am. I have faithfully served our lord the

Refuses to do homage to Richard I for Leinster.

king here for the land I hold of him, so that I have nothing to fear.'[1] One does not know which to admire most, the fearlessness of the Marshal or the good-humoured toleration of the king.

William appears to have been almost continually in Normandy with Richard up to the time of the king's death. He was one of the principal supporters of John's succession, and received from John the formal investiture of the earldom of Pembroke and a confirmation of the office of marshal of the household.[2] He may have paid a brief visit to Ireland in the winter of 1200–1.[3] Certain Latin annals place the founding of the monastery de Voto or Tintern (County Wexford) in this year, stating that William, when in peril by sea, vowed that if he reached land in safety he would erect a monastery to Christ and His mother Mary.[4] This he did at the head of Bannow Bay, and we may conjecture that the Marshal's ship found refuge in the bay not far

Monasterium de Voto.

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 10289–340.

[2] Roger de Hoveden, iv. 90; Rot. Chart, 1 John, p. 46. On November 12, 1207, John granted to William Marshal's nephew, John Marshal, the marshalcy of Ireland and the cantred of Kilmeane near Roscommon: ibid., 9 John, 173 b.

[3] He can be traced with John's court every month up to the 3rd September 1200, but from this date to March 1201 we seem to lose sight of him in the records.

[4] Annals, Laud MS., Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 307, and cf. ibid., p. 278.

from where Robert Fitz Stephen first landed in Ireland. William brought monks from the Cistercian house of Tintern in Monmouthshire to supply the Monasterium de Voto, and hence the latter came to be known as 'Tinterna Minor'. As to the date, however, the charter by which William endowed his new foundation has been preserved to us in an inspeximus and confirmation of the time of Richard II,[1] and from the names of the witnesses it would seem to belong to the period 1207–13, during which William was almost continuously in Ireland. The vow, of course, may have been made some years earlier.

Becomes estranged from John.

We need not here follow William Marshal's career in Normandy and England during the early years of John's reign. Suffice it to say that he became more and more estranged from the king. When through John's supineness Richard's

[1] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 80. The names of the witnesses mentioned are those of William's feudatories: Jordan de Saukvill, John d'Erlée, John Marshal, William and Maurice de Londres, Walter Purcell, Baldwin and Robert Keting, William Chevre, Nicholas Brun, and Philip the Cleric. Of these John Marshal was sent by his uncle to Ireland in 1204 to take over the seneschalship of his lands and castles: Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 42. John d'Erlée came to Ireland with his lord in 1207; Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 69. Jordan de Sauqueville and Walter Purcell were in Ireland with the earl in 1207–8; Hist. G. le Mar. (*infra*, p. 211). Compare, too, the witnesses to the earl's charters to Kilkenny, Dunbrody, and Duiske, all of which seem to date from about the same time.

'Saucy Castle' had fallen and Normandy was hopelessly lost, William was one of those who thwarted John's belated efforts to lead an expedition against Philip, and this no doubt contributed to John's ill will. But John was jealous of William's reputation, power, and independence, and would have humbled him if he could. William's unswerving loyalty and tact, however, gave him no opportunity.

Obtains leave to go to Ireland.

About the close of the year 1206 the Marshal sought John's leave to go to Ireland to visit his lands there. The king gave an unwilling consent. He had been often asked to grant this leave, but hitherto had always refused.[1] William had not got beyond his castle of Striguil, however, when he was overtaken by a messenger from the king demanding his second son as a hostage. William's eldest son was already a hostage in the king's hands, and a less prudent man than William would have refused this new demand. Disregarding the advice of his countess and his barons, he told the messenger that he would gladly send all his sons to the king if he desired it; 'but,' he added, 'tell me, for the love of God, why he acts thus towards me?' The messenger

[1] Hist. G. le Mar. ll. 13311–20. The writer says that William had never seen his lands; but if the date (1200) assigned for the founding of the Monasterium de Voto (or even for the vow) be correct, this statement cannot be accurate.

replied that the king desired above all to prevent the Marshal going to Ireland. 'By God,' said the Marshal, 'for good or for ill I shall go, since he has given me permission.' On the morrow he sent his son Richard to the king and set sail for Ireland.[1]

Intrigue of king and justiciar against William Marshal.

And now opens a story of intrigue against the Earl Marshal which we should never be able to piece together without the Histoire, but which, confirmed as it is on many points by the records (which it explains), we may confidently accept as in all essentials true.

When the Earl Marshal landed in Ireland, most of his men, we are told, welcomed him with honour, but some there were who in their hearts were much chagrined at his coming. Foremost among these was Meiler Fitz Henry, the justiciar. It appears indeed from the records that Meiler, while in general only carrying out John's orders, had by his high-handed action in one way or another aggrieved many of the magnates of Ireland and despoiled them of their rights. His action towards William de Burgh was hardly justified by the king. He had, as we have seen, taken Limerick by force from Walter de Lacy, who held it for William de Braose, and the king

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 13335–422. The king's protection for the lands of William Earl Marshal while in Ireland is dated Feb. 19, 1207: Rot. Pat., 7 John, p. 69. He was accompanied by Henry Hose and John d'Erlée.

had not scrupled to profit by the violence.[1] He had also by John's orders taken into the king's hand the whole of the kingdom of Cork and made a number of new grants there, which were subsequently confirmed by the king, and which apparently ignored the seignory of the heirs of the original grantees, and perhaps disallowed the rights of some of the former tenants.[2] In Leinster, on no apparent legal grounds, he had taken Offaly into the king's hand, and, as we shall see, he seems also to have taken possession of Fircal in Meath; and when the barons of Meath and Leinster attempted to get redress they were indignantly reprimanded by the king.[3] William Marshal's name is not mentioned, but he was aggrieved by the seizure of Offaly, and presumably supported his barons. At any rate, Meiler is said to have told the king that if he permitted the Marshal to remain long in Ireland it would be to his detriment. John summoned both the Marshal and Meiler to his presence. This was probably in October 1207. Meiler reached the king early in November, apparently before the earl.

[1] *v. supra*, p. 177.

[2] *v. supra*, p. 45, and see Meiler's grants in Desmond referred to in Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 71 b.

[3] This was on May 23, 1207: Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 72. The barons were charged with establishing a 'new assize'. Perhaps Meiler had been summoned to answer for his conduct before the chief courts of the Liberties; cf. Rot. Pat., 9 John, p. 76 b, translated, Early Statutes (Berry), p. 3.

Anticipating disturbance, the earl made his arrangements. He gave the custody of his lands to Jordan de Sauqueville and John d'Erlée, and left with them his cousin, Stephen d'Evreux, and some of the knights he had brought with him, and bade them act by the advice of Geoffrey Fitz Robert, Walter Purcell, Thomas Fitz Anthony, and Maillard, his standard-bearer.[1] Then the earl summoned his barons to Kilkenny. Leading his countess by the hand before them, he said: 'My lords, you see here your rightful lady, daughter of the earl who liberally granted you your fiefs when he had conquered the land. She abides here in your midst *enceinte*. Until God brings me back again I pray you all to guard her well and loyally, for she is your lady. I have naught here except through her.' They all promised to do right, but some of them failed to keep their words.[2]

The Marshal anticipates disturbance.

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., 13424–512. Stephen d'Evreux (or de Ebroica, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii. 183) was perhaps founder of the family of Devereux in co. Wexford. Geoffrey Fitz Robert had been, and perhaps still was, the earl's seneschal: Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 125. He has been confounded with, but must be distinguished from, his namesake, the second husband of Basilia de Clare. He speaks of his wife, Eva de Bermingham, as living, in a charter witnessed by Hugh le Rous, Bishop of Ossory, i.e. after 1202. Basilia's husband was living 1199–1201: Reg. St. Thomas's, no. cxxix; and she seems to have survived him: ibid., cxxvii, cxxxvi.

[2] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 13527–50.

Meiler's men raid New Ross.

No sooner had the earl landed in Wales on his way to the king than Meiler's men and kinsfolk raided his territory. They burned his granges at his newly formed port, now known as New Ross, slew twenty of his men, and carried off a prey from the town. And thus the disturbances commenced.[1]

Meanwhile Meiler was with the king at Woodstock on the 8th of November, when the new grants in Cork were confirmed. According to the biographer of the Earl Marshal, Meiler offered to raise a host at his own cost and take both William de Braose and William Marshal prisoners and bring them to the king. As a preliminary he got the king to send letters summoning to England John d'Erlée, Stephen d'Evreux, Jordan de Saukeville, and other leading followers of the Marshal,[2] under penalty of losing the lands which

The Marshal's chief men summoned to England.

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 13551–74. M. Meyer is unfortunate in his suggestion that the *novele vile* of l. 13569 is Newtownbarry, a town which only got its name from an ancestor of Lord Farnham in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It is undoubtedly the *villa novi pontis*, or New Ross, where John stopped on June 21, 1210—a town which clearly owed all its early importance to William Marshal.

[2] Ibid., ll. 13575–670. The editor could find no trace of these letters, but that they were actually sent appears from the Close Rolls. On February 20, 1208, John wrote to the Earl Marshal as follows: 'We have ordered that the land which John de Erleg' held of your fee and which was taken into our hand be restored to you. We caused him to be disseised because for more than two months

they held of the king in England. The king, too, gave permission to Meiler to return to Ireland,[1] but when the Earl Marshal afterwards asked for leave to return it was refused.

Meiler, on arriving in Ireland, found that matters had not gone well with his friends, several of whom were in prison for their misdeeds. He summoned the earl's men to a parley at Castledermot,[2] and there the king's messenger gave them the royal letters recalling them to England. They took counsel together and were convinced that the king meant to disseise their lord. Accordingly they decided to remain in Ireland and defend the land which the earl had

They decide to stay.

he failed to come to us after being ordered to do so We desire you to send back him and the others whom we lent you, and that they come to us since we have need of their service, and until they return we shall hold their lands in our hand': Rot. Claus., 9 John, m. 8, p. 103. On March 19, 1208, John ordered the sheriff of Buckinghamshire to deliver Jordan de Saukeville's land to William Marshal (ibid., p. 106 b); and on the 20th there is a similar order as to John d'Erlée's English lands (ibid.).

[1] Meiler probably returned to Ireland soon after Nov. 14, 1207, when he was with the king at Gloucester. The events next related must have taken place before the end of March 1208, when the king became reconciled with the Earl Marshal.

[2] The text of the Histoire is here corrupt, and the place-name disguised. Meiler held his *parlement hors ceiste* [or *teiste*] *de mot* (l. 13697); but we can confidently restore *tristerdermot*, the usual Anglo-Norman form of the Irish 'Disert Diarmada', now Castledermot.

entrusted to them. They then sought aid from Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, who speedily came with 65 knights and 1,200 men, and they devastated Meiler's lands.[1] Here we have a confirmation with fresh details in the Irish annals. 'The sons of Hugo de Lacy,' we are told, 'and the English of Meath marched to the castle of Ardnurcher, and continued to besiege it for five weeks, when it was surrendered to them, as was also the territory of Fircal, and Meiler was banished from the country.'[2] Ardnurcher had been granted to Meiler by the elder Hugh de Lacy, but from this entry it would seem that Meiler claimed Fircal (an adjoining district in King's County, but belonging to Meath), adversely to Walter de Lacy—just as he claimed Offaly adversely to William Marshal, and Limerick adversely to William de Braose. Probably Meiler had acted according to John's directions throughout. If so, we must regard this widespread disaffection among the Irish barons at this time as the Irish counterpart of the disaffection which grew to a head among the barons of England a little later, and as due to the same cause: the capricious, oppressive, and, as we

The de Lacys take Ardnurcher.

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 13680–786.

[2] Four Masters, 1207; cf. Ann. Loch Cé, 1207. Perhaps the beginning of 1208 was the true date. In this latter year the annals also mention Geoffrey Mareis or de Marisco as defeating some of Meiler's men at Thurles: Ann. Laud MS., Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, ii, p. 311.

would now say, unconstitutional action of the Crown.

Meanwhile, Earl William, who was following John in his movements in England, knew nothing of what was going on in Ireland. Indeed, as seems to have often happened, all communication with Ireland was cut off during the winter.[1] One day at Guilford[2] the king asked the earl if he had heard any good news from Ireland. On the earl replying in the negative, John told an imaginary tale of how the countess had been besieged at Kilkenny by Meiler, how Meiler had at last been beaten, but John d'Erlée, Stephen d'Evreux, and Ralph Fitz Pain had been killed. The earl was much grieved at this, but wondered to himself how the king could have got the news. When Lent came both king and earl learnt the facts: that Meiler had been beaten and taken prisoner, and had been obliged to make peace with the countess and give his son Henry as a hostage, and that Philip de Prendergast and the rest who had taken Meiler's part had also given hostages.[3]

Meiler beaten.

Having failed to humble the Earl Marshal by means of Meiler, John executed one of his rapid

[1] It is said in the Histoire, ll. 13672–5, that Meiler's was the only ship that crossed over from Michaelmas (1207) to *la Chandelor* (February 2, 1208).

[2] John was at Guilford, January 25–7, 1208.

[3] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 13787–888.

John changes front.

changes of front. He took both William Marshal and Walter de Lacy into favour, restored to them their lands, discredited Meiler, and before long superseded him in the office of justiciar. The steps by which this change was effected are all attested by the records. On the 7th of March, 1208, probably soon after the authentic news came from Ireland, John informed Meiler that William Earl Marshal had shown himself sufficiently submissive to the king's will, and ordered the justiciar to observe the existing peace in Ireland, adding that if any raids had been made by the justiciar's people on the earl's land the justiciar should make the best amends he could, the earl having given a reciprocal undertaking.[1] This mandate and the authenticity of the letters recalling the marshal's chief men go far to confirm the story told in the marshal's biography. On the 19th John gave a similar order with regard to Walter de Lacy.[2] On the 20th he sent Philip of Worcester and others to see that his orders were carried out.[3] On the 21st he ordered Meiler to give seisin to the earl of the land of Offaly with its castles, for which, however, the earl was to give 300

[1] Rot. Claus., 9 John, p. 105. Probably the earl at this time assented to the restrictions on behalf of the Crown afterwards inserted in the new charter of Leinster.

[2] Ibid., p. 106 b.

[3] Ibid. They were to be summoned to the councils of the justiciar: ibid., p. 107.

marks;[1] and on the 28th he gave to the earl a new charter of his land of Leinster.[2] This was followed a few weeks later by a similar charter to Walter de Lacy of his land of Meath.[3] The exact date of Meiler's supersession is unknown, but according to the Annals of Inisfallen Hugh de Lacy was appointed justiciar in this year.[4]

The earl returned to Ireland, landing at Glascarrig probably in April. He dealt generously with those of his men who had acted against him,[5] and restored to them their hostages. Afterwards Meiler, no longer justiciar, came to terms with him. He agreed to give up to him at once his castle of Dunamase, the remains of which (or rather of some later reconstruction) may still be seen crowning a rock in Queen's County, and after his death all the rest of his

The Marshal returns to Ireland, 1208.

[1] Rot. Pat., 9 John, p. 80 b.

[2] Rot. Chart., 9 John, p. 176. For the restrictions inserted in this charter see Appendix to this chapter.

[3] Ibid., p. 178.

[4] There seems to be no reason to doubt this appointment. Harris places it in October 1208, which may be right. Hugh de Lacy can only have held the appointment for a few months, as by favouring William de Braose he soon fell from the king's good graces. John de Gray appears to have been justiciar from about the close of 1208.

[5] Philip de Prendergast and David de la Roche, both of Flemish descent from South Wales, were the principal of these. They had just received large grants in Desmond,

land [1]—a pretty clear admission that it had been wrongfully taken.

In the next chapter we shall see that Earl William, through his sheltering William de Braose from John's wrath, once more fell under that capricious king's ill will, but with the exception of a campaign in Wales in 1211, when William fought for his unworthy master, he seems to have remained in Ireland until early in 1213. He was then once more summoned to England by John, who, when in difficulty, knew his real worth and (almost excessive) loyalty to the throne. After this it is doubtful if he ever resided in Ireland again. At most he can only have visited his lands for brief periods. From this time up to the death of the king the earl appears to have been one of John's prin-

And remains almost continuously to 1213.

probably through Meiler's influence : Rot. Chart., 9 John, pp. 171 b, 172 b.

[1] A lui en tel guise fina
Que son boen chastel otreia,
Donmas al conte en heritage.
Apres le jor de son aage
Li otreia tote sa terre.
Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 14127–31.

The editor, ignorant of Irish topography, supposes Donmas to be the *caislen na Dumach* (recte *Dumhcha*), or Dough Castle, in the Co. Clare, referring to O'Donovan's note to Four Masters, 1422. It is undoubtedly the castle of Dunamase (Irish, *Dun Masc*), as to which see vol. i, p. 375. John took the castle into his own hand in 1210 (Hist., ll. 14330 et seq.), but it was ordered to be restored to the earl in 1215–16 (Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 644, 664, 684), and afterwards became the chief castle of his successors in Leix.

cipal counsellors, and certainly when regent for Henry III he did not leave England.

I have dealt with the life of the great Earl Marshal, so far as it was concerned with Ireland, in some detail, because trustworthy details concerning him, though not generally known,[1] happen to be forthcoming, and we are thus able to form a completer picture of him than of any other Anglo-Norman leader of his time. He must not, however, be taken as an average example of an Anglo-Norman feudal lord, but rather as one of the finest human products of the feudal system: brave, generous, upright, and ever true to his lights, the highest realized type of chivalry. So far as appears, with the exception of the skirmish carried on by his men to baffle the intrigues of King John and Meiler, he engaged in no wars or fighting in Ireland. His work was entirely one of construction—to build up and perfect, so far as he could, the feudal organization which was to give to his Liberty of Leinster, for about a century, a peace and prosperity and a reign of law hitherto unknown in Ireland. So far indeed as this peace was infringed within his fief during this period, the infringement, as we shall see, was almost entirely due to dissensions among the feudal lords themselves. His connexion with Ireland,

His character and work in Ireland.

[1] Miss Norgate has made good use of the Marshal's biography in the 'Angevin Kings' and 'John Lackland'.

indeed, was only a comparatively uneventful episode in an eventful life. With the government of the country he had little or nothing to do, but only with that of his liberty. He was too upright and too independent a man for John, while his will was unfettered, to choose as his minister. Almost to the last John viewed him with unmerited jealousy and suspicion. But when the deserted king found himself in dire straits he made use of the marshal's extraordinary loyalty and known integrity to help him out of his difficulties. It would have been well for the success of the new régime in Ireland had William Marshal been invested with the chief official power, but he was called away, even from the humbler work of organizing and developing his fief, to greater issues elsewhere.

The final scene.

As throwing a further light on the mind of this great man, the final scene, gleaned from his biography, may be referred to here, though much was to happen before it took place. In May 1219, as he lay on his death-bed, his faithful follower Henry Fitz Gerald, probably inspired by some cleric, said to him: 'Sire, it is right to think of your salvation. Death is no respecter of persons, and the clergy teach us that nobody shall be saved who does not restore what he has taken.' The Marshal replied: 'Henry, listen to me a moment. The clergy are too hard on us. They seek to shave us too

close. I have taken in my time 500 knights, and have retained their arms, horses, and accoutrements. If the kingdom of heaven is closed to me for this, there is nothing to be done ; for I cannot give them back. I can do no more for God than give myself up to him, while repenting of all the wrongs I have done. . . . Either the clergy are wrong in their reasoning or no man can be saved.' 'Sire,' said John d'Erlée, 'that is the very truth ; but I warrant there is hardly one of us who in his last days would dare to say as much.' [1] The marshal's sentiments have indeed a surprisingly modern ring about them. A little later, when it was a question what should be done with the rich robes and furs he had for ceremonial purposes, a cleric named Philip suggested that they would fetch a great sum for purchasing his salvation. 'Hold thy peace, bad man,' said the earl. 'I have had too much of your counsel, and want no more of it. A plague on bad counsellors ! It will soon be Whitsuntide, when my knights will want their robes. It will be the last time that I shall give them to them, and you seek to cajole me out of them ! ' And then he ordered the robes to be distributed among his men, and more to be procured if there were not enough for all.[2] Yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that William the Marshal had freed himself generally

[1] Histoire, ll. 18461–501. [2] Ibid., ll. 18675–18716.

from mediaeval ideas about the Church. He was its firm friend and munificent patron. He had founded and endowed monasteries at Tintern, Duiske or Graig-na-Managh, and Kilkenny, in Ireland, and he remembered them handsomely in his will. It was to the Pope's legate that he handed over the guardianship of the young king. One of his last acts, touchingly described by his biographer, was to take an affectionate farewell of his wife, and symbolically give himself up to God and become a Templar. But with all his extraordinary loyalty to throne and Church, he never feared to withstand either king or priest when his reason and conscience forbade him to perform their will.

We shall now describe the earl's principal dealings with his fief, so far as we can ascertain them :—

From the spring of 1207, then, to the spring of 1213, William the Marshal abode almost continuously in Ireland, and it is to this period that most of his doings there are to be referred. He chose Kilkenny as his principal place of abode, and made it the chief centre of his whole lordship, and to him and his son William the early greatness of that town is mainly due. Indeed, the rapid development of Ossory, which in the course of a generation completely outstripped the other divisions of Leinster, progressive as they too were, may be traced to his influence.

Kilkenny the chief seat of the lordship.

As we have seen, Strongbow made grants of lands at the two extremities of Ossory, at Aghaboe and Iverk.[1] It is probable, too, that in his time were erected the motes of Castlecomer and Odagh, which afterwards became centres of important seignorial manors.[2] He even erected a similar mote at Kilkenny, which was, however, abandoned by its garrison and destroyed by Donnell O'Brien, the bitter foe of Ossory, in 1173.[3] During the minority of Isabel de Clare, John, as *Dominus Hiberniae*, appears to have made further grants of lands on the borders of Ossory. To him should, perhaps, be ascribed the grant of Gowran to Theobald Walter, as well as grants of lands to Manasser Arsic, Richard Fitz Fulk, and others in the north of the present County Kilkenny.[4] Previous grants.

As early as 1185 John erected the mote-fortress of Tibberaghny on the south-western frontier, and this afterwards became the centre of a de Burgh manor. In Central Ossory, however, Donnell Mac Gillapatrick seems to have

[1] *Supra*, vol. i, pp. 388–9.

[2] For the grounds of this suggestion and for the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ossory generally, see my paper on 'Motes and Norman Castles in Ossory', Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, pp. 318–42.

[3] *Supra*, vol. i, p. 332.

[4] See John's charter to Jerpoint confirmatory of grants to that monastery prior to c. 1189, and for the identification of the places mentioned see Journ. R.S. A. I., as above. p. 315.

ruled undisturbed, under English protection, up to his death in 1185.[1]

How or exactly when the Mac Gillapatricks were ousted from Central Ossory we do not know. Certainly we hear of no fighting or violent expulsion, and it may have been a gradual process. Of Melaghlin, Donnell's successor, nothing is recorded except his death in 1193.[2] When next we hear of the family they were located near Slieve Bloom, where they were probably assigned lands, and where they lived as Irish chieftains for centuries, at first apparently in amity with their English neighbours.[3]

[1] He made a grant of Kilferagh, near Kilkenny, to John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin, between 1181 and 1185 (Crede Mihi, no. xxxiii); and about the same time he granted numerous lands to Jerpoint (see John's confirmatory charter, c. 1189, in Dugdale's Monasticon Angl.). He has indeed been usually regarded as the founder of Jerpoint, but there appears to have been a Cistercian monastery here, from which sprang the monastery of Killenny prior to 1165: Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Ireland, pt. ii, pl. lxii, and Carrigan's History of Ossory, vol. iv, pp. 279–84. It is probable, however, that the splendid abbey church of Jerpoint was commenced soon after the monastery was endowed by King Donnell and the Norman benefactors mentioned in John's charter. Some features of the existing ruins seem to indicate this period for their original construction.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1193.

[3] In 1213 Donnell Clannagh Mac Gillapatrick and other Irish chieftains 'gave an overthrow to Cormac Mac Art O'Melaghlin', a determined foe of the English and one who had recently defeated the justiciar, John de Gray, in Fircal: Ann. Clonmacnois, 1212 (*recte* 1213).

In 1192, soon after Earl William Marshal obtained seisin of his lands, a castle is said to have been built at Kilkenny.[1] Perhaps this castle was little more than a strengthening or reconstruction of Strongbow's mote. Whatever may have been its precise form, the original mote appears to have been preserved, and even as late as the year 1307 formed part of the precincts of the castle.[2] From about the time of the erection of this castle we may probably date the commencement of the sub-infeudation of Central Ossory. It must have been about this time that the earl gave Geoffrey Fitz Robert a grant of lands on the King's river, which formed the 'Barony' of KELLS. Here Geoffrey erected a mote, which still remains with the later stone walls of the castle-bawn running up towards it. A small town grew up in connexion with the castle. Close by he founded the great priory of Kells, to rule which he brought four canons from the priory of Bodmin, in Cornwall.[3]

Kilkenny castle.

Geoffrey Fitz Robert.

[1] Ann. Inisfallen, Dublin MS., and Ware's Annals, 1192. A castle at Kilkenny is alluded to in a grant by Felix O'Dulany (ob. 1202): Hist. of St. Canice, Graves and Prim, p. 29.

[2] In an Extent of the lands and tenements in the burgh of Kilkenny which belonged to Joan, Countess of Gloucester, who died April 19, 1307, it was found that she held in the vill of Kilkenny a castle in which were 'una aula, quatuor turres, una capella, una mota, et alie domus diverse ad idem castrum necessarie': Inquis. P. M., 35 Ed. I, no. 47, m. 34.

[3] The Registrum Chartarum Monasterii B. M. de Kenlis in Osseria is only known to us by an abstract made by Sir

Geoffrey was the earl's seneschal of Leinster at the beginning of the thirteenth century,[1] and perhaps earlier. Higher up the King's river was formed the seignorial manor of CALLAN.

John d'Erlée.

Two of the Marshal's followers, John d'Erlée, his biographer, and Maillard, his standard-bearer, were given lands at Erleystown, now corruptly Earlstown, and at Mallardstown, between Callan and Kells. Other probable feoffees of the earl

Thomas Fitz Anthony.

were Thomas Fitz Anthony, afterwards his seneschal, and William de St. Leger. The former founded the priory of Inistioge, and held the manor of Grenan, or Thomastown, as the vill came to be called after its founder. The latter, besides the manor of Rosconnell in the north, held lands at Tullaghanbrogue, near Kilkenny.

Kilkenny.

Kilkenny itself, though not mentioned in the early centuries for which we have annalistic records, and, so far as is known, not at any time the seat of the kings of Ossory, must have been an ecclesiastical site of some importance in

James Ware, of which there are copies, T. C. D., F. 4. 23, and Brit. Mus., Lansdowne, 418. No foundation charter is forthcoming, but the register contains a sort of confirmatory memorandum by Geoffrey referring to his grant and its confirmation by Earl William Marshal. This memorandum must be dated after 1202. The date usually assigned for the foundation of the monastery is 1193. For the charter to the town of Kells, see Chartae, &c., p. 16.

[1] He was seneschal when Meiler Fitz Henry was justiciar: Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 125.

pre-Norman times, as is shown by its ancient ecclesiastical round tower, and by some slight remains which have been discovered of a Romanesque church.[1] From 1192, when the first castle of the Marshals was built, we may trace the beginnings of the civil importance of the town. At this time the church at Aghaboe was the cathedral church of the diocese of Ossory, and it is stated to have so remained up to the death of Bishop Felix O'Dulany in 1202.[2] The new bishop, Hugh le Rous, one of the canons brought from Bodmin to rule the new priory at Kells, was no doubt readily persuaded by Earl William to move the seat of the bishopric from the march-lands of Aghaboe to the new seignorial centre at Kilkenny. He gave the see-lands of Aghaboe to the earl in exchange for other lands in more settled districts near Kilkenny,[3] and also granted to him, 'to enable him to enlarge his

[1] The burning of Cill Cainnigh, meaning probably the church and ecclesiastical buildings of Kilkenny, is recorded by the Four Masters under dates 1085 and 1114. In 1169 Maurice de Prendergast and his band of about 200 men lodged for the night at Kilkenny : Song of Dermot, l. 1311.

[2] Nomina Episcoporum Ossoriensium, &c., Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 4796. Transcribed in Carrigan's History of Ossory, Appendix, vol. i.

[3] For the deeds effecting this exchange see Journ. R.S.A.I. 1858–9, pp. 327–9. The bishop's name is usually written 'de Rous', but seemingly on no contemporary authority. As it was translated Rufus, I have ventured to restore 'le Rous', O. Fr. for le Roux.

vill of Kilkenny,' some of the land on which the present town is built.[1] Between 1207 and 1211 the earl granted a full charter of liberties to the burgesses of Kilkenny, which must have already become an important town.[2] He is said to have built a castle there after 1207,[3] and, though no early authority is quoted for this statement, it is probable that when he came to dwell in Kilkenny he built a regular stone castle for his habitation.

Religious foundations.

The beautiful cathedral of Kilkenny was probably completed about the middle of the thirteenth century, but the precise date of its commencement is uncertain. The architecture of the nave is certainly later than Earl William's time, but in spite of the statement in a sixteenth-century compilation,[4] that Hugh de Mapilton

[1] Liber Albus Ossoriensis; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 861. The portion of land granted is described as 'extending from Keuerocke's well to the river called Bregath running under Coterel bridge'. Keuerocke's well probably represents *Tobar Chiarog* or St. Ciaran's well. It has been identified with a well near the centre of the town, south of the old market, in the garden of what is supposed to have been the house of the famous Kyteler family. Coterel bridge is represented by the Watergate bridge over the Bregagh river, which henceforth separated the Irish town from the High or English town.

[2] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 33.

[3] Hanmer, p. 173; Cox, p. 54.

[4] Nomina Episcoporum Ossoriensium, &c., Sloane MS. 4796, Brit. Mus.

(bishop from 1251 to 1260) was the first founder of the church, it is on architectural and general grounds probable that the choir, at least, was built in the time of Earl William or of his eldest son. To the elder William Marshal is attributed the foundation of the priory of St. John the Evangelist on the left bank of the river at Kilkenny, and this is perhaps in substance correct, but the charter granting a new site and rich endowments to the priory, quoted as evidence thereof, was actually given not by him, but by his son, William Marshal junior, probably about 1223.[1] Besides founding the Monastery de Voto, or Tintern Minor, already mentioned, and confirming the charter of Dunbrody, the elder William Marshal founded

[1] From this charter (Dugdale, vi. 1143) it appears that the friary buildings had previously been commenced close to St. John's Bridge. The friars were here prior to 1202, as is evidenced by a charter of Felix O'Dulany contained in the cartulary of the priory. This site may have been given them by the elder William Marshal. His son moved them 'ad caput parvi pontis de Kilkennia', i.e. to the site of the present St. John's church, near the bridge over the millstream in St. John's Street. The charters of these two earls are frequently confused, but a comparison of the witnesses to the undoubted charters of the younger William Marshal, Reg. St. Thomas's, no. 137, and the second charter to Kilkenny, dated April 5, 1223 (Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 34, and cf. p. 80), with the charters to St. John's Priory (Dugdale, vi. 1143) and to the burgesses of Carlow (Chartae, &c., pp. 37–8), will show that these four charters were executed by the same person and about the same time.

another Cistercian house known as Duiske, or as it was afterwards called Graig-na-managh.[1] Other foundations attributed to the earl are the priory of St. John at Wexford for knights of the Hospital, and an Augustinian priory at Kilrush in the County Kildare.

Efforts to foster trade.

But more important for the temporal prosperity of Leinster than the numerous religious houses founded by the earl and the greater landholders about this time, were the efforts made to foster trade and commerce and civic life, which, together with the advance in agriculture, changed the whole conditions of living in the province. Now that Leinster was really under one lord increased use was made of the great river-ways for transport, and the rivers themselves were bridged in places, not with a view to plunder, but to facilitate peaceful intercourse and trade. One of the earl's first cares was to establish a port on the Barrow in his manor of Ross, and to give it an independent existence, at the same time bridging the river at this point, so as to connect the new town with the road to Kilkenny. The place was variously called 'William Marshal's town', 'the town of the new bridge of Ross', or 'Rosponte', and afterwards New Ross, to distinguish it from Old Ross, as the seat of the manor came to be called. Situated within the tidal way, New Ross

The port of Ross.

[1] Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Ireland, vol. ii, no. lxix.

was within reach of the largest merchant vessels of the time. From it, too, in boats of light draught, goods could be brought up the Nore to Inistioge and Thomastown, if not to Kilkenny, and up the Barrow to St. Mullins, Graig-na-managh, Carlow, and even as far as Athy.[1] Thus New Ross became the port of South Leinster. In the course of the thirteenth century its trade far outstripped that of Wexford, and appears even to have surpassed that of Waterford, in spite of the royal favour shown to the latter town.[2]

Formation and growth of towns.

Indeed, the formation of towns was perhaps the most significant feature of the new régime. Apart from the Scandinavian seaports, which themselves were the first to expand under Norman rule, small towns grew up in the time of the Marshals under the protection of the castles at the seignorial manors of Ferns, Old Ross, the Island, Carrick on Slaney, and Bannow, in the County Wexford; at Carlow, Forth O'Nolan, and St. Mullins, in County Carlow;

[1] Cal. Justiciary Rolls (1298), p. 202. The jurors presented that the passage of boats that used to come from Ross to Athy was obstructed by a weir.

[2] Thus for the five years following May 4, 1275, the receipts from the 'new custom' granted to the Crown amounted in New Ross to £2632, in Waterford to £1865, and in Wexford to only £22: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 1902, and Irish Pipe Rolls, 36th Rep. Dep. Keeper, which makes some corrections and additions.

at Kilkenny, Callan, Castlecomer, Odagh, and Aghaboe, in Ossory; at Kildare; and at Dunamase; and the same thing in a less degree followed on the erection of many of the castles of subordinate grantees. Thus may be said to have commenced civic life in Ireland, and this civic life rendered possible the growth of trade, and *pari passu* with that growth the towns themselves grew and prospered.

NOTE

KING JOHN'S CHARTERS OF LEINSTER AND MEATH

King John's confirmatory grant of the land of Leinster to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, is dated the 28th of March, 1208 (Rot. Chart., 9 John, p. 176). It is nearly similar in form to the confirmatory grant of the land of Meath to Walter de Lacy four weeks later (ibid., p. 178). Both grants contain reservations to the Crown of rights which seem not to have been reserved in the original charters of Henry II, or in the charter by which John, when Earl of Mortain, restored the land of Meath to Walter de Lacy. Henry had granted the land of Meath to Hugh de Lacy to hold from the king and his heirs 'as Murchardus Hu Melachlin or any other before or after him better held the same', and Hugh was to have 'all liberties which Henry had or was able to give there'. But now John took care, both in the case of Leinster and of Meath, expressly to reserve to himself and his heirs the pleas of the Crown, namely of treasure-trove, rape, forestalling, and arson, and the plea where one appeals another for felonious breach of the peace, and he provided for appeals to the king's court in case of default of justice in the lord's court, and in the case of complaints of injury done by the lord himself or his court. Crosslands and dignities appurtenant to them (i. e. church-lands and the higher ecclesiastical pre-

ferments) were also reserved to the Crown. One disputed case of feudal incidents seems to have been provided for favourably to the lord of the liberty. Where a tenant-in-chief died, leaving heirs who were minors, the Crown latterly seems to have claimed the custody of all his lands, even of those which he held of some mesne lord, and this was one of the grievances of the barons of England. John now granted to Walter de Lacy and William Marshal that in such a case they should have the custody of fees held of themselves, but that the 'marriages' of the heirs should belong to the Crown.

CHAPTER XXI

KING JOHN IN IRELAND
1210

King John at the height of his insular power.

AT the commencement of the year 1210, King John, in his home dominions at least, was to all appearance at the height of his personal power. It is true that he had lost nearly all his ancestral possessions in France, that England lay under the papal interdict, and that he himself was excommunicate, but the loss of his heritage over sea caused him to concentrate his attention upon his island dominions, and the fulminations of the Pope, for the moment at all events, served as a pretext for enriching himself at the expense of the fugitive clergy. In Ireland indeed, to which the interdict did not apply, these fulminations hardly resounded at all.[1] In the summer of 1209 William the Lion was forced to come to terms with John, and in October—'what had never

[1] So little did the Irish clergy enter into the spirit of the contest of their class in England against the king that Eugenius the Primate (who, like Stephen Langton, had been designated by the Pope in opposition to the royal nominee) accepted in July 1207 a commission from the king to execute the episcopal office in the see of Exeter, left derelict owing to the Interdict: Rot. Claus., 9 John, m. 17 (p. 88).

been heard of in times past'—all the Welsh nobles came to him at Woodstock and did him homage. In the same year, too, the king received homage from all his free tenants, and even from boys of twelve years of age, throughout the whole kingdom, and after they had done fealty he dismissed them with the kiss of peace.[1] 'There was not a man in the land,' complains one chronicler, 'who could resist his will in anything.'[2] Another, with reference to the clergy, bitterly says: 'When they saw the wolf coming they quitted the sheep and fled.'[3]

Matilda de Braose refuses to give hostages.

There was one baron, however, who failed to give the hostages required in 1208, and who fled to Ireland to escape the king's wrath. When the king's messengers came to William de Braose and demanded hostages, William's wife, Matilda de St. Valery, with feminine boldness taking the word out of her husband's mouth, replied: 'I will not deliver up my son to your lord, King John, for he basely murdered his nephew Arthur, when he should have kept him in honourable custody.' Her husband reproved her foolish tongue and offered, if he had offended, to give satisfaction according to the judgement of his peers. But this was of no avail. When the king heard of it he secretly sent soldiers and

[1] Roger of Wendover, vol. ii, pp. 50–1. Rymer's Foedera, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 103. [2] Gerv. Cant., vol. ii, p. 100.
[3] Roger of Wendover, vol. ii, p. 48.

bailiffs to seize William and his whole family. The latter, however, forewarned, fled with his wife and sons to Ireland.[1]

John's apology for his action against de Braose.

In a document[2] which John put forward to the world in 1210, and which was evidently intended by him as a justification of his actions towards William de Braose, a different complexion is sought to be given to the matter. William de Braose owed a large sum to the king in respect of the lordship of Limerick, which, owing to the opposition of the barons already in occupation under grants from the Crown, had doubtless brought him no profit. John represents his action as arising out of William's defaults in payment and resistance to the processes of the law. According to the above document, John ordered his bailiff, Gerard de Athiis,[3] to distrain on William's Welsh property for the amount of the debt, which John characteristically exaggerates.[4] An arrangement is then

[1] Rog. Wend., vol. ii, pp. 48–9, *sub anno* 1208.

[2] Rymer's Foedera, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 107.

[3] It is worth noting that one of the provisions wrung from John by Magna Carta was: 'Nos amovebimus penitus de balliis parentes Gerardi de Athyes quod de cetero nullam habeant balliam in Anglia.'

[4] In 1205–6 William owed £2865 6*s*. 8*d*. (Pipe, 7 John, Rot. 8), and the account stood at the same figure in 1209–10: ibid., 11 John, Rot. 1. John says that William owed 5,000 marks, which was the sum originally agreed to be paid at the rate of 500 marks a year. William had already paid £468, which John omits to notice. John also claimed five

said to have been made by which William surrendered his castles in Wales to be held by the king, mortgaged all his lands in England, and gave hostages, until his debts should be paid. Nevertheless, William attempted with a large force to enter his castles, and, failing in this, burned half the town of Leominster. Whereupon John sent Gerard de Athiis to capture him, but William fled with his family to Ireland, and was there harboured by William Marshal and Walter and Hugh de Lacy. The latter undertook that William would make satisfaction, and that if he failed to do so they would no longer harbour him. This promise not being kept, the king raised an army with the intention of going himself to Ireland.

It is not difficult to accept John's version of the facts as in the main correct, though exaggerated and misleading, and yet believe that the true motive for his vindictiveness against William de Braose was personal animosity connected with the tragic fate of Arthur of Brittany. William de Braose had been given the custody of Arthur before he was handed over to Hubert de Burgh, and perhaps William knew more about the real end of Arthur than we do.

It was in the hope of finding a refuge with his

years of the farm of the city of Limerick (at 100 marks a year, from 1203–8), but he omits to notice that during part of this time Meiler held the city for the king.

son-in-law, Walter de Lacy, that William de Braose fled with his family to Ireland. This was probably in the winter of 1208–9.[1] He was driven by stress of weather to Wicklow, where Earl William Marshal was then sojourning, and the earl gave him and his family kindly shelter and entertained them for twenty days. When the justiciar, John de Gray, heard of it he at once informed the earl that he was harbouring the king's traitor, and on the part of the king ordered the earl to deliver him up to him without delay. The Marshal replied that he had only sheltered his lord,[2] as he was bound to do, and that he did not know that the king was otherwise than well disposed towards him. To deliver

De Braose sheltered by the Earl Marshal.

[1] The flight of William de Braose to Ireland is placed in 1208 by Roger de Wendover (vol. ii, p. 49) and by the Laud MS. Annals, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 310; cf. Brut y Tywys. 1207. Miss Norgate, however, places it in 1209, but without giving her authority: John Lackland, p. 150. From the passage in L'Histoire de G. le Maréchal immediately referred to it appears that the flight took place when John de Gray was justiciar. Unfortunately, in the absence of the Patent and Close Rolls for 1209, the date of John de Gray's appointment is uncertain. The Four Masters place it in 1208 (*recte* 1209). He was certainly in Ireland at the close of 1209 (Rot. Misae, p. 144), and Hugh de Lacy, if appointed justiciar in the autumn of 1208, would probably have been soon superseded owing to his connexion with William de Braose.

[2] How William de Braose was the Marshal's *seignor* is obscure. Possibly it was in respect of some of the de Clare property in Wales.

him up now to the bishop would be a treachery which he refused to commit. Accordingly he conducted him safely to Walter de Lacy.[1] The Marshal was prepared to resist John's will and risk the loss of his fief rather than do a dishonourable act.

King John's motive in coming to Ireland.

According to his own account, then, it was simply to chastise William de Braose and his aiders and abettors, and to enforce payment of a crown debt, that John made his expedition to Ireland in the summer of 1210. This may seem a mean and paltry motive for the royal expedition, but John's motives were often mean and paltry. Moreover, he certainly did not come to quell dissension among the barons, for he had received the dissentient barons into favour two years previously, and since Meiler was discredited and superseded there were no further dissensions. Nor was there any turbulence among the barons, except what had been excited by John's relentless persecution of William de Braose, his family, and those who sheltered them. Even more certainly he did not come either to protect the Irish from aggression or to put down their revolt, though all these causes have been alleged. There had been no inter-racial conflicts for some years, while, as we shall see, the policy of his new minister, John de Gray, was first to obtain control in Connaught, and next to subdue the

[1] Histoire, ll. 14137–232.

chieftains of the north. It will be seen, too, that all John's military efforts, when he was in Ireland, were expended in taking possession of the lands and castles of the de Lacys, and in endeavouring to capture their persons, as well as to hunt down Maud de Braose and her family.

John's apology continued.

As to William de Braose himself, John in his elaborate statement goes on to say that William came to the neighbourhood of Pembroke, where the king was with his army, and offered by his intermediaries 40,000 marks for the king's peace. But the king replied that he well knew that William was not his own master at all, but was ruled by his wife, who was in Ireland,[1] and proposed that William should accompany him to Ireland and that the matter should be settled there. William, however, remained in Wales. Evidently he feared to put himself into John's power.

Black Monday.

One incident of disturbance is indeed usually here mentioned as having taken place in 1209, namely, a massacre of 300 of the citizens of Dublin, who were making holiday near the town on a certain Easter Monday. This day, remembered as Black Monday, is said to have been celebrated in Elizabeth's time by the mayor,

[1] So I understand the passage: 'Quod bene novimus quod non erat omnino in potestate sua, sed magis in potestate uxoris suae quae fuit in Hibernia': Rymer's Foedera, vol. i, pt. i, p. 107.

sheriffs, and citizens feasting on the spot, and daring the enemy to come and attack them. But the sole authority for this story is Hanmer,[1] who, it should be needless to say, is no authority for the thirteenth century. His account of the period is often a mere travesty of the facts, and sometimes dull invention. Black Monday may have been celebrated in Hanmer's time, as he says, and the tradition of a massacre on the spot may have been well founded, but there is good reason for thinking that in ascribing it to the year 1209 tradition (or Hanmer) antedated it by half a century at least, as we have no evidence of any raids of the O'Birnes or the O'Tooles until near the close of the reign of Henry III.

John's Itinerary in Ireland.

We shall now endeavour to follow John in his progress in Ireland. Unfortunately there is at this period a great gap in the series of enrolments which from the beginning of John's reign have thrown authentic light on affairs in Ireland. The Patent, Close, Charter, and Fine Rolls for the eleventh to the thirteenth years of John's reign are missing. Also the Close Rolls for the tenth John. Had these been preserved we should probably have a much clearer idea of what had happened in Ireland immediately prior to John's visit, and of his transactions during his visit. Covering the period of his stay in Ireland we have indeed the Prestita Roll of the twelfth

[1] Hanmer's Chronicle (1633), p. 186. Hanmer died in 1604.

regnal year. This contains accounts of payments made to the Earl of Salisbury and other officials, for their fees and for the pay of soldiers and sailors and others connected with the expedition. It gives long lists of the knights and others who accompanied the expedition, and, above all, from it we can glean an authentic itinerary of the king's visit.[1] We are thus enabled to follow John's course almost from day to day, to note some of his transactions, and, by requisitioning information from other scattered sources, form a correct, though no doubt incomplete, idea of the purpose, scope, and results of his expedition.

Cross on the sea, June 3–16.

From the 3rd to the 16th of June John was at Cross on the sea, below Pembroke, the usual place of embarkation.[2] Here he was busy making final arrangements for the expedition, and made payments to knights, mariners, &c., amounting to £1,433 13*s.* 6*d.* His half-brother, William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, supposed to be son of Henry II by Rosamond Clifford, was in chief command of the army. John landed at Crook, near Waterford, on June 20, thus following precisely the route which his

Crook, June 20.

[1] The Rotulus de Prestito does not account for all of the 53 dozen skins of parchment which John brought with him to Ireland: Rot. Misae, 11 John, p. 167.

[2] 'Apud Crucem subtus Penbroc' or 'super mare'. Cf. Song of Dermot, l. 2590, note; where, however, delete the suggestion that Carew Cross marks the place. More probably it was near Pembroke Dock.

father had adopted thirty-nine years before, and which he himself seems to have taken in 1185. At Crook he was joined by the justiciar, the Bishop of Norwich, with a body of Irish troops. John, no doubt, visited Waterford, where, we are told, Donough Cairbrech O'Brien repaired to make his submission, and received a charter for Carrigogunnell and the lordship thereunto belonging at a yearly rent of sixty marks.[1]

New Ross, June 21.

On June 21 John was at New Ross,[2] having perhaps come from Crook or Waterford by river. This town owed its origin to William Marshal, or perhaps, following tradition, we should say, to the Countess Isabel. It is generally supposed, indeed, to have been the site of a great monastery founded by St. Abban in the sixth century, but the identification is very doubtful, and in any case this monastery seems to have disappeared before the arrival of the Normans. Situated on the banks of a great navigable river, New Ross soon became the principal port of the lordship of Leinster, in the race for trade outpacing the old Scandinavian port of Wexford, and rivalling the king's vill of Waterford. So keenly did the latter port feel the rivalry that for nearly two centuries it endeavoured to deprive New Ross

[1] Ann. Inisfallen (Dublin MS.), 1209. As to this grant see *ante*, p. 168, note 2.

[2] 'Apud pontem Rovum,' also referred to as 'villa Willielmi Marescalli'.

of the privileges of a trading port. Already at the date of John's visit William Marshal had spanned the river with a wooden bridge at the spot, thus facilitating the connexion with Kilkenny. Hence, the town was called *villa novi pontis*, or *villa de Rosponte*. The *caput* of the manor, however, throughout the century was at Old Ross, some five miles to the east, where a mote still marks the original castle-site.

Near Inistiogue, June 22.

Next day John was at a wood near the land of Thomas Fitz Anthony.[1] He was one of William Marshal's principal tenants, and at a later period his seneschal. Thomastown, situated at a bend of the river Nore about ten miles above its junction with the Barrow, preserves the name of Thomas Fitz Anthony. He founded a monastery for canons regular at Inistiogue.[2] There is a mote here, and it may have been the *caput* of the manor at the time of John's visit, and the wood where he halted and made a payment for 'six galleys going with Geoffrey de Lucy in search of pirates' may be now represented by Woodstock demesne. He probably went on to Earl William Marshal's castle of Kilkenny for the night. Here he and

[1] 'Apud Boscum juxta terram Thome filii Antonii'. He is called seneschal of Leinster in 1215 (C. D. I., vol. i, no. 673). He probably succeeded in that office Geoffrey Fitz Robert, baron of Kells, who died circa 1211.

[2] Circa 1206, Dugdale, Mon. Angl., vol. ii, p. 1041; but according to Archdall, circa 1210.

Kilkenny, June 22–4. his host were entertained by the earl, who had accompanied him from Pembroke.[1] We have already noted the early history of this castle, so far as it is ascertainable, and have shown that what became known as the 'High town' or 'English town' of Kilkenny owed its origin and incorporation to the earl. It was the earl's chief seat in Leinster, and the river was already spanned by a bridge connecting the town with the new foundation of the priory of St. John's on the north-eastern side.

On June 24 John was still at Kilkenny, and on the 26th he was at Naas.[2] At this time the baron of Naas was William Fitz William.[3] In a pedigree in the Gormanston Register he appears as second son of the William to whom John confirmed Naas in 1185, but he must have been older than his brother David, whom he preceded in the barony.

Naas, June 26.

Dublin, June 28–9. On June 28 John was at Dublin. Here he probably stayed at the rich abbey of St. Thomas,[4]

[1] Hist. G. le Mar., ll. 14259–66. John probably arrived at Kilkenny on the evening of the 22nd June and left on the morning of the 24th: Rot. de Prest., pp. 247 and 179.

[2] From Kilkenny to Naas must have been two days' journey. One night was perhaps spent in tents: 'quando dominus Rex jacuit in papilionibus': Rot. de Prest., p. 181.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 448, and cf. no. 89. He married the widow of Philip de Braose; ibid., no. 962.

[4] A battlemented building here was known in 1634 as 'King John's chamber' (Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, p. 395).

founded thirty-three years before. At Dublin he gave audience to some of the barons of Meath, who came to intercede on behalf of their lord, Walter de Lacy. In his name they offered his complete submission, endeavoured to dissociate him from the action of his brother Hugh, and prayed the king to relax his ire.[1] The intercession was of no avail. John now proceeded to take possession of Walter's principal castles in Meath (as well as Hugh's), and it was not until 1215 that he came to an agreement with Walter for the restoration of his lands.

On June 30 John advanced as far as Greenoge, in the barony of Ratoath and county of Meath, and on July 2 he was at Trim. He must therefore have passed by Ratoath, where Hugh de Lacy had an important mote-castle, which was now seized by the king. Indeed, Hugh, as we have seen, held the whole barony of Ratoath (as well as that of Morgallion) of his brother Walter.[2] By a deed which may be confidently assigned to this period John granted the whole

Greenoge, June 30.

[1] These barons of Meath were William le Petit, Richard de Tuit, Richard de Feipo, Richard de Capella, and Hugh Hose: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 402. According to William of Newburgh (vol. ii, p. 511), 'Walterus de Lacy se et sua omnia ei reddidit, quod illum postea poenituit, quia illum praedictus rex abjurare omnia tenementa et terras et redditus quos habebat in Hibernia fecit, ipsumque postea et omnes suos de Anglia depulit.'

[2] *Supra*, p. 76.

of Ratoath to Philip of Worcester for the service of one knight. Among the witnesses, who we may infer had not risen to arms with the de Lacys, were Richard Tyrell, Richard de Tuit, William le Petit, Peter de Meset, Richard de Feipo, Martin de Mandeville, and Adam Dullard.[1]

John was now accompanied by a considerable force, including, besides Flemish mercenaries, an Irish contingent from Munster and Desmond, and troops which came with Geoffrey de Marisco, Thomas Fitz Maurice, and others. At Trim, where John remained until July 4, he, no doubt, took Walter de Lacy's castle into his hands. It was one of those restored in 1215. What sort of castle it was is obscure. Probably the original mote-fortress had been vastly strengthened by stone walls, but it would seem that, like other Irish castles, it was too small for John to hold his court in it. Accordingly here, as in several other cases, his writs are dated at a mead (*pratum*) near the place. He evidently held his court under a tent in the open field. The keep, the oldest part of the existing castle-ruins at Trim, is of a peculiar plan. It may be described

Trim, July 2–4.

[1] Gormanston Register, f. 6. The castle of Ratoath was restored to Walter de Lacy in 1216: Rot. Pat., 18 John, p. 194. The large grant made about the same time to Philip of Worcester in Munster may perhaps be regarded as compensatory.

as a square with a square tower projecting from the middle of each of the four sides, thus forming a twenty-sided figure. It resembles in plan the keep of Warkworth castle in Northumberland, which is a square with a semi-octagonal projection in the middle of each side. The latter keep is said to have been built in 1200, but the keep at Trim is probably somewhat later. It may be ascribed with much probability to about the year 1220.[1]

From Trim John moved by way of Ardbraccan to Kells. At Ardbraccan, Cathal Crovderg

Ardbraccan.

[1] To this year is assigned the building of the castle of Ath Truim in the Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin MS.). So in Hanmer's Chronicle (which is followed by Ware), with the confused addition that it was after the wars between William Marshal and Hugh de Lacy, when Trim was besieged and brought to a lamentable plight, 'to prevent after-claps and subsequent calamities, the castle of Trim was builded' (p. 189). But the siege of Trim took place in 1224, and as the castle then withstood successfully for seven weeks all the efforts of so skilful a commander as William Marshal the younger, we must infer that it was an exceptionally strong castle (see Royal Letters, ed. Shirley, vol. i, p. 500). Moreover, in the previous March, when the castle was in the king's hand, the justiciar was commanded to allow 'Walter de Lacy to have the hall, houses, and chambers in the castle of Trim, in which he and his retinue may dwell while he is fighting the enemies of the king and himself': Rot. Claus., 8 Hen. III, p. 591). From this mandate we may not only infer that a strong and well-provided castle then existed, but that the *turris* or keep was to be retained by the king's constable. All this bears out the date given in the Annals of Inisfallen.

O'Conor, King of Connaught, made submission to King John, and accompanied him as far as Carrickfergus.[1] John's prests on the 4th and 5th July are dated 'at a mead near Kells'. It is doubtful whether there was any castle here at this time. It was not one of those restored, and at any rate its site is unknown. Here John dispatched a small expeditionary force under John Marshal, probably to take possession of some other de Lacy strongholds. John himself now turned northwards to Uriel—probably taking possession of the castle of Nobber, which belonged to Hugh de Lacy, on the way—and stopping on the 7th at his own vill of Louth. There is a small mote at Louth, formerly connected with the town trench which marks the site of the castle.[2]

Kells, July 4–5.

Louth, July 7.

[1] Ann. Clonmacnois, where Cathal is said to have 'come to the king's house' at 'Tibreydultan called Ardbracken in Meath'. St. Ultan's well (*Tioprait Ultáin*) is still pointed out at Ardbraccan close to the church. Land here as well as at Navan had been given to Jocelin de Angulo. A lofty mote on an esker-knoll at Navan, and a small mote on high ground near the church and village of Ardbraccan, mark the Norman centres.

[2] For this and other motes in the neighbourhood see my paper on 'Motes and Norman Castles in County Louth', Journ. R.S.A.I. 1908, pp. 241–69. John paid his huntsmen on July 7 'apud pratum juxta Luvet' (Louth): Rot. de Prest., p. 248; but after leaving Kells he made prests for his army 'apud pratum subtus aquam quandam que vocatur Struthe': ibid., p. 192. 'Struthe' represents the Irish *sruth*, 'a river,' perhaps the Dee near Nobber.

On the 8th John was seemingly at Dundalk,[1] the chief manor of Nicholas de Verdun. Here he made a prest for 400 soldiers lately come [to their allegiance], who had been with Hugh de Lacy. Evidently in the face of the king's advance Hugh could no longer command the allegiance of all his followers. We are told that Hugh, 'when he found that the king was going north, burned his own castles in Machaire Conaille and Cuailgne (the baronies of Upper and Lower Dundalk) before the king's eyes, and also the castles which had been erected by the Earl of Ulster [John de Courcy ?] and the men of Uriel, and he himself fled to Carrickfergus, leaving the chiefs of his people burning and destroying the castles of the country.'[2] It is probable, then, that the mote-castle of Dundalk was one of those burned by Hugh de Lacy at this time. In spite of the agreement with Thomas de Verdun to which reference has already been made, Hugh seems to have claimed the castelry of Dundalk,[3] but King John gave it to Nicholas de Verdun with the whole barony of Lower Dundalk, and Nicholas was now in John's army. Dundalk (?), July 8.

From Dundalk John went to Carlingford, where he seized the castle, which belonged to Carlingford, July 9-11.

[1] 'Apud pratum juxta Cadelac' (Cather Delgan ?).

[2] Ann. Inisfallen, Dublin MS. 1211. This passage is quoted by O'Donovan, Four Masters, vol. iii, p. 164, note.

[3] *Supra*, p. 121, and see Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 9.

Hugh de Lacy. The existing ruins, in the main Edwardian, stand on a rock overlooking Carlingford Bay. It was retained as a royal castle until 1226, when it was restored to Hugh de Lacy.[1] Here John stayed for three days (July 9–11), and made payments for carpenters, quarriers, ditchers, and miners, probably for the repair of injuries made by Hugh de Lacy on abandoning the castle.

So far John had advanced without meeting any opposition, and, seemingly, had not unsheathed a sword. Hugh de Lacy, however, evidently hoped to defend his lordship of Ulster against him. The only practicable approach by land into Lecale was by a long and difficult détour between the Mourne Mountains on the south and those which culminate in Slieve Croob on the north. This was called the gate of Lecale, and it was already guarded by the castle of Dundrum, then known as the castle of Rath.[2] As its ruins

[1] Rot. Pat., 17 John, m. 19 (p. 148), and Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 742, 1015, 1386. We have already seen (*supra*, p. 121) that Hugh de Lacy obtained the barony of Lower Dundalk from Thomas de Verdun. Probably Hugh built the first castle of Carlingford. He afterwards granted the castle to his daughter Matilda, together with all the lands which he had received with her mother in 'Cole et Ergalea' (Cooley and Uriel) on the occasion of Matilda's marriage with David, baron of Naas: Gormanston Register, f. 191 dors.

[2] For the identification of the castrum de Rath with the castle of Dundrum see my paper, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, pp. 23–9.

still bear witness, this castle was a formidable structure, built on a rock, and consisting of a massive circular donjon-keep surrounded by stout walls and rock-hewn trenches. Here, if anywhere, Hugh de Lacy must have prepared to make a stand. But John had collected a large fleet of transports. He threw a bridge of boats across Carlingford Lough, probably at Narrow-water, and sent the main body of his troops across the bridge to advance round the mountains towards the castle of Rath, while he himself with the rest went by sea. He landed first at Ardglas, where he was on the 12th at Jordan de Saukeville's castle, and then he immediately turned back to the castle of Rath, which appears to have been for the moment the objective.[1] Probably its defenders, seeing themselves out-manœuvred, retreated before retreat was cut off. At any rate, on the 14th the castle was occupied by John, apparently without

Ardglas, July 12.

Dundrum, July 14.

[1] That there was some such manœuvre appears to follow (1) from the statements in the Annals of Inisfallen (see Four Masters, *sub anno* 1209), which after mentioning Hugh's retreat says that the king at Carlingford 'made a bridge of his ships across the harbour by which he landed some of his troops on the other side and proceeded thence to Carrickfergus partly by sea and partly by land'; (2) from the recorded itinerary of the king; and (3) from general topographical considerations. John brought a vast number of *pontes*—I suppose materials for making pontoon bridges—with him to Ireland, as many as 155 from York and still more from Dorset and Somerset: Pipe Roll, 12 and 13 John.

resistance, and Hugh de Lacy's supporters concentrated at Carrickfergus.

On the 12th, while at Ardglas, John made a prest to 'Mariadac, King of Limerick'. This was Murtough Finn, son of Donnell O'Brien, who had apparently come with a contingent from Thomond. Jordan de Saukeville appears to have been disseised of his lands at Ardglas, Holywood, and other places in Ulster at this time, as in 1217 his lands there were restored to him.[1] A mote on the 'Ward of Ardglas', a promontory forming the southern boundary of the harbour, probably represents the original castle-site, but even at this early period the town, as the principal seaport of Lecale, must have risen to some importance, and a stone castle may have been already built there.[2]

At Rath, or Dundrum, John also set his carpenters, quarriers, and ditchers to work, probably, as at Carlingford, to repair the damage done by Hugh de Lacy. The castle was left in the custody of Roger Pipard, and was retained as a royal castle for seventeen years.[3]

[1] Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. III (p. 304 b).

[2] A well-preserved castle at Ardglas, known as 'Jordan's castle', is, however, of later date. In 1220–1 Jordan de Saukeville obtained respites 'in fortifying his land': Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III (p. 413 b), and 5 Hen. III (p. 455). These, however, may have referred to other lands of his.

[3] See my paper, as above, p. 24.

On the 16th John was at Downpatrick, the seat of the bishopric, and formerly the *caput* of John de Courcy's lordship. But now the objective was Carrickfergus. This was Hugh de Lacy's strongest castle, and the remnant of his followers were gathered together in it, apparently prepared for a siege. John, however, made a great concentration of his forces here, both by sea and by land, and the castle soon surrendered. A large number of knights and gentlemen, feudatories of the de Lacys, and their retainers, were taken prisoners in the castle and deprived for the time of their lands.[1] Hugh de Lacy himself,

Downpatrick, July 16.

Carrickfergus, July 19–28.

[1] Upwards of thirty are mentioned by name in the Rolls as having been taken prisoners in the castle, and subsequently, at different times extending over six years, as being released on payment of a fine. Among those connected with Ulster may be mentioned William and Luke de Audley, a name which survives in Audley Castle on Strangford Lough; Walter de Logan, witness of John de Courcy's charter to the church of Down, and one of the magnates of Ireland in 1221; Robert de Weldebuef, whose land called Edereskel lay between Holywood and Ballyoran (Reeves, Eccl. Tax., pp. 359, 361); Robert and Thomas Talbot, who had lands at Irewe and Brakenberg (Reeves, Eccl. Tax., p. 57); and Ralph de Rossal (Russell). Among those connected with Meath were Hubert Hose of Galtrim, Lucian de Arquilla, and Gilbert de Weston, who had lands in the honour of Nobber; John de Feipo, son of Adam de Feipo of Skreen; Michael, son of Adam le Gros, and Walter Sancmesle, both of whom were again in rebellion in 1224. On the other hand, several names of those who either at this time or soon afterwards were landholders in Ulster, Uriel, or Meath appear among the knights who supported John, e. g. Robert and Thomas

however, at the king's approach, escaped in a boat to Scotland, and at the same time Maud de Braose and her sons William and Reginald also fled. Maud, her son William, and others of the family were immediately captured by Duncan of Carrick, uncle of Alan of Galloway, but Hugh de Lacy and Reginald de Braose succeeded in escaping. The king, informed of this while still at Carrickfergus, sent John de Courcy (seemingly the former lord of Ulster) and Godfrey de Craucumbe to convey the prisoners to him, which they did.[1]

At first sight it may seem strange that the king should have become reconciled with John de Courcy, and should bring him on this expedition to his former lordship, without intending to reinstate him; but John's ways were not as other men's ways, and he probably derived a malign pleasure, first in using against Hugh de Lacy the man whom he had sup-

le Savage, Robert de Mandeville, Ralph Gernun, Eborard de Vernun, Hugh de Bernevall; besides Nicholas de Verdun and Roger Pipard, tenants *in capite* in Uriel.

[1] Rymer's Foedera, vol. i, pt. i, p. 108. There is just an element of doubt as to the identity of this John de Courcy, as there was another John de Courcy, son of Roger of Chester, who had been one of the hostages of the conqueror of Ulster (*supra*, p. 139, n.), and who early in the next reign claimed his father's lands in Ulster: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 833. But for reasons already given (*supra*, p. 143) there can be little real doubt that it was the former lord of Ulster who accompanied King John.

planted, and then in withholding from John de Courcy the lordship of which he had been deprived.[1]

As to Maud de Braose, according to John's own statement, when she was brought before him she offered 40,000 marks for life and limb of her husband, her family, and herself, her husband to quit-claim to John all his lands and castles. It is obvious that these preposterous conditions must have been imposed by John, not with any expectation that they could be fulfilled, but in order that their non-fulfilment might form a pretext for confiscation and outlawry. Ultimately the terms were agreed to and ratified, but default was made in the first payment, Maud declaring that she had not the money. Thereupon William de Braose was declared an outlaw. So far, with many additional details to emphasize his forbearance, John gives his account of the matter, and as the document is attested by the Earl of Ferrers, nephew of William de Braose, and by Adam de Port, his brother-in-law, as well as by several eminent men, we may accept the facts stated as formally correct though misleading. John does not tell the sequel, however. William de Braose died next year, an exile in France, while his

John's apology concluded

[1] Before John left Ireland a prest of 20 marks was made to John de Courcy, presumably for his services; Rot. de Prest., p. 227.

wife and eldest son were starved to death in prison by order of the king.[1]

The de Lacys and St. Taurin.

As for the de Lacys, a story is told in some late Latin annals to the effect that on being expelled from Ireland they fled for refuge to the monastery of St. Taurin in Normandy, and worked there, unknown, in menial employment until at length the abbot discovered who they were; that at the abbot's intercession the king restored them to their former rank and lordships; and that Walter de Lacy, out of gratitude, gave to the abbot's nephew, John Fitz Alured, the lordship of Dengyn, and brought monks from St. Taurin and gave them farms and the cell called Foure.[2] Though most of the details of this story can be shown to be apocryphal, it is not improbable that the de Lacys did actually seek shelter and hospitality from the monks of St. Taurin at Evreux. It appears, however, that it was Hugh de Lacy the elder who granted to those monks the churches and tithes of Fore, and the mill of St. Fechin there, and a wood near the town for their habitation;[3] while

[1] So much seems certain. The story of John's vengeance is told with many variants by the chroniclers. See Miss Norgate's John Lackland, p. 288, where the statements are collected and examined.

[2] Laud MS. Annals, printed in Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. ii, p. 311. The story has been reproduced in the Book of Howth, p. 121, Grace's Annals, &c.

[3] Cal. Docs. France (Round), vol. i, p. 105. The charter

Thomas and Walter, sons of Alured, made grants of the church of Laracor (the parish in which Dengyn, now Dangan, is situated) at dates preceding the expulsion of the de Lacys.[1] This already established connexion may have induced the de Lacys to seek shelter with the monks of St. Taurin.

John was at Carrickfergus from the 19th to the 28th of July, and we have long lists of the knights to whom he made payments, dating from the 20th, when we must suppose the castle was in his hands. As at Carlingford and Rath, he made payments to carpenters and stone-workers, apparently for repairs to the castle. Indeed these three castles were the principal —perhaps the only—regular stone castles in the lordship. Carrickfergus is a well-preserved example of the keep and bailey plan, situated on a rocky headland. It is doubtful whether the keep should be ascribed to Hugh de Lacy or to John de Courcy, but it is probable that the latter had a castle here.[2] The gateway and mural

is by Hugh de Lacy the elder; with the witnesses compare those of the elder Hugh's grant to William le Petit (one of whom was Thomas Fitz Alured): Song of Dermot, p. 310. Walter de Lacy further endowed the monks of Fore, but, in part at least, before his expulsion.

[1] Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, p. 42. The name Fitz Alured became Fitz Averay, and a Thomas Fitz Averay was lord of the manor of Dengyn (now Dangan) in 1300: ibid., p. 421.

[2] From a letter of Reginald, Bishop of Connor, c. 1224, it appears that John de Courcy endowed the House of St. Mary

towers are later. While at Carrickfergus John sent a force to seize the castle of Antrim, and directed John de Gray to have two galleys built there for service on Lough Neagh. He gave Carrickfergus Castle to the custody of Geoffrey de Serland, and it was retained in the king's hand up to 1226.[1] Having made provision for the custody of his prisoners, and having dismissed his Irish auxiliaries, he now returned southwards.

Holywood, July 29.

On the 29th John was at Holywood, on the southern shore of Belfast Lough. This place, as well as Ardglas, appears to have belonged to Jordan de Saukeville,[2] and until recently there was a mote in the town. He visited 'Balimoran', probably now Ballymorran, a townland in the parish of Killinchy, barony of Dufferin, where 'White's Castle' stands on an earlier earthwork. Probably about the same time he seized the castles of Ballymaghan and Dundonald in the neighbourhood, as these castles were in the king's

of Carrickfergus to the use of canons of the Premonstratensian Order, and conferred on them the church of St. Nicholas at Carrickfergus, which he had probably built: Royal Letters, Cal. Docs. Ireland, i, no. 1225. From this it seems probable that John de Courcy defended the place with a castle.

[1] Rot. Pat., 10 Hen. III. Geoffrey de Serland was succeeded as constable by William de Serland, who in 1223 was appointed Seneschal of Ulster: Rot. Pat., 7 Hen. III.

[2] Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. III (p. 304 b).

hand in 1221.[1] On the 2nd and 3rd of August John was again at Downpatrick, and on the 4th at the river Bann. The exact spot on the river was probably at the place now called Hilltown, in the parish of Clonduff, where there is a mote. It lies on the direct route from Downpatrick to Narrow Water, where John probably crossed the inlet on his way back to Carlingford, which he reached on the 5th. Here he sent an officer to the Isle of Man 'to guard the king's supplies there', but, according to unofficial accounts, the island was plundered by John's men at this time.[2]

Downpatrick, Aug. 2–3.

Carlingford, Aug 5.

On the 8th John was at Drogheda, where the castle on 'the Millmount' guarding the bridge was taken into his hand and retained permanently. On the 9th he went on to Duleek, on the 10th to Kells, and on the 11th to Fore, where he took Walter de Lacy's castle into his hand.[3] On

Drogheda, Aug. 8.

[1] Called 'Dundunnelan and Balimichgan': Rot. Pat., 6 Hen. III.

[2] In the Annals of Loch Cé it is stated that, after taking Carrickfergus, John sent a fleet of his people to the Isle of Man and 'they plundered it and killed its people'. So William of Newburgh, vol. ii, p. 511, 'insulam Man destruxit.' In May 1212 John granted to Reginald, King of Man, a knight's fee near Carlingford and 100 seams of wheat to be received yearly at Drogheda, and the two kings reciprocally bound themselves to punish acts of violence of their subjects on each other's territory: Rot. Chart., 14 John, p. 186 b; Rot. Pat., 14 John, p. 92 b.

[3] Fore (Irish, *Fabhar*, latinized *Fąvoria*) was restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215: Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148 b.

the 12th he reached Granard, the mote-castle of Richard de Tuit,[1] on the north-western frontier of the lordship of Meath. He now turned south, and was at Rathwire on the 14th. It belonged to Robert de Lacy. The remains show that it was a mote and bailey castle, and that a stone castle was afterwards built in the bailey.

Rathwire, Aug 14.

John and Cathal Crovderg.

At Rathwire Cathal Crovderg came to meet John, according to arrangement, but failed to satisfy him. The relations between Cathal and John at this time are somewhat obscure. Cathal, as we have seen, owed his crown to the support given to him by William de Burgh and the English king—a support which was not given for nothing. When William de Burgh turned against Cathal after the massacre of his men in 1203, John, through Meiler Fitz Henry, forced William to give way, and continued to support Cathal, retaining in his hand, however, the rights acquired by William in Connaught. In March 1204 the king sent Meiler and the Archdeacon of Stafford (Henri de Londres, the future Archbishop of Dublin), along with Walter de Lacy to arrange matters with Cathal.[2] We have records of two proposals made to regulate Cathal's

[1] Apud Grenard, called 'castrum Ricardi de Thuit': Rot. de Prest., 12 John, p. 248. It was restored to Walter de Lacy along with other castles in 1215, but Richard de Tuit was killed in 1211, and the castle may in consequence have been in the king's hand.

[2] Liberate, 5 John, p. 83.

position. The first was communicated by Meiler in August 1204. By it Cathal was to quit-claim two-thirds of Connaught to the king and retain the remaining third as an estate of inheritance at a rent of 100 marks.[1] John's rapacity probably caused the negotiations to fail. In December 1205 a new proposal was presented by an Irishman[2] on Cathal's behalf, namely that he should hold in fee of the king a third of Connaught as a barony at 100 marks a year, and for the remaining two-thirds he should render a tribute of 300 marks. He was to grant to the king two cantreds with their villeins to farm or do his pleasure therein.[3] A charter appears to have been granted on some such terms, and is referred to in a later document.[4] In 1207 the king made grants of lands in Connaught to John Marshal and Gilbert de Angulo.[5] These lands appear to have been (partly at any rate) comprised in the baronies of Athlone and Longford, in the counties of Roscommon and Galway respectively.

[1] Rot. Claus., 6 John, p. 6 b, Cal. no. 222; Rymer's Foedera, vol. i, pt. i, p. 91.

[2] The Irishman's name is printed Deremunt. It is probable that the individual was Dermot Mac Dermot, King of Moylurg, who accompanied Cathal to Rathwire and was seized as a hostage.

[3] Rot. Claus., 7 John, p. 62, Cal. no. 279.

[4] Ibid., 8 John, p. 78 b, Cal. no. 311, confirming Cathal's grant of Maenmagh to Gilbert de Angulo.

[5] Ibid., 9 John, pp. 173, 173 b.

When John came to Ireland, Cathal Crovderg accompanied him with a force to Carrickfergus. On their return from the north it was arranged that Cathal was to meet John in a fortnight and bring his son Aedh with him as a hostage, and that John would grant him a charter, framed apparently so as to include Aedh, for the third part of Connaught. O'Conor, on reaching home, however, adopted the advice of his wife not to take his son to the king, 'although,' says the annalist, 'this was the worst counsel.' Accordingly, when Cathal came to Rathwire without his son, John was evidently enraged, and seized four important members of O'Conor's retinue, and took them with him as hostages.[1] Later in the year, as we shall see, O'Conor was forced to come to terms with John de Gray, the justiciar, and to give his son Turlough as a hostage.

Dublin, Aug. 18–24. On the 18th of August John was back at Dublin. Here he stayed for six days before his departure, and we have a long list of his knights

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1210. The men seized as hostages were Dermot Mac Dermot, King of Magh Luirg, Conor O'Hara, King of Luighne, Find O'Carmacan and Toirberd, officers of O'Conor's household. They were released next year when Cathal's son was sent. John stopped at Castellum Bret on the 17th. Its position is uncertain. Milo le Bret had lands near Dublin for which an exchange was ordered to be given him in 1207: C. D. I., vol. i, nos. 360, 361. His principal seat seems to have been at Mainclare, said to be Moyclare in Meath: Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, 128–9.

to whom he made payments. On the 24th he was at a mead near Dublin, perhaps at Ringsend (if this was the place of his embarkation), and on the 26th he was at Fishguard. Fishguard, Aug. 26.

When John was in Dublin after the surrender of Carrickfergus, he charged the Earl Marshal with having sheltered William de Braose, his mortal enemy, and having aided his escape. The earl made much the same answer as he had previously made to the justiciar, adding that if any one except the king accused him he was ready to defend himself according to the judgement of the court. As had happened once before, no one accepted the challenge. The king then demanded hostages, and named Geoffrey Fitz Robert, Jordan de Sauqueville, Thomas de Sanford, John d'Erlée, and Walter Purcell, and required that the castle of Dunamase should be delivered up to him. Only the two last named were present. These readily consented to give themselves up as hostages, and the earl delivered them and his castle to the king. John was still unsatisfied, and insisted on getting security from all the earl's barons who were present for the complete fulfilment of his demand. All agreed except David de la Roche, who was regarded with contempt by the rest.[1] When John returned to England he bailed out his hostages in various places there. Next year the King John accuses William Marshal.

[1] Histoire, ll. 14283-446.

Marshal fought for the king against Llewelyn in Wales, and then the king restored to him his hostages, but to Geoffrey Fitz Robert death came before liberty.[1] The earl returned to Ireland and remained there until the beginning of the year 1213, when he was again summoned to England in view of the threatened invasion of England by Philip Augustus. Then at last the king handed over the earl's two sons, one to John d'Erlée and one to Thomas de Sanford.[2]

Wholesale confiscations.

John was about nine weeks in Ireland. During this time he had crushed William de Braose, expelled the de Lacys, and confiscated their lands. Even from Earl William Marshal he had exacted a number of hostages and taken the castle of Dunamase. In the course of his progress he had seized the principal castles of the lordships of Meath and Ulster, including the following: in Meath, Trim, Drogheda, Ratoath, Nobber, Fore, Granard, Loughsewdy, and Clonard; and in Ulster, Carrickfergus, Antrim, Carlingford, Dundrum, and others.[3] Those in

[1] Histoire, ll. 14447–86. This was the Welsh war of 1211: Rog. de Wend., vol. ii, p. 58.

[2] Ibid., ll. 14487–578, and cf. Rot. Claus., 14 John, p. 132 b.

[3] This, the main result of John's progress in Ireland, has not, I think, been duly noticed. Even so perspicacious a writer as Dr. G. T. Stokes describes John as merely 'personally inspecting the fortresses from Carrickfergus in the north . . . to Waterford in the south': Anglo-Norman Church, p. 242.

Meath, except Ratoath and Nobber (which had belonged to Hugh de Lacy) were restored to Walter de Lacy for a fine of 4,000 marks in 1215, while the castles of Ulster were not restored to Hugh de Lacy until after 1226. Of the de Lacy feoffees John had taken a large number prisoners at the surrender of Carrickfergus, and these he committed to the custody of various persons in England. It would seem that by far the major part of the lands of the barons of Meath and of Ulster were confiscated or held to ransom, and in several cases new grants were made to those of John's adherents whom he wished to reward. Thus John immediately granted to Duncan, son of Gilbert, lord of Carrick, who had captured Maud de Braose and her son, 'the town of Wulfrichford (the Ulfreksfiordr of the Northmen, now Larne), and all the lands which Roger de Preston and Henry Clemens held near Wulfrichford' and as far as Glenarm.[1] Other grantees had afterwards to give up for an exchange the lands granted to them when the former owners were restored.[2]

[1] Cal. Canc. Hib., vol. ii, p. 354, and see Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. III, p. 402 b, where the charter is stated to have been inspected.

[2] Thus Sir William le Pugneor, 'the king's knight,' had to give up the land of William de Cusac in Ulster when the latter was reinstated: Rot. Pat., 18 John, p. 191 b; and so of Godfrey de Serland, constable of Carrickfergus: Rot. Claus., 18 John, p. 271.

Irish forces assist John.

John was not ignored on this visit by the Irish princes, as he had been on his visit twenty-five years before. Indeed, the difference in their attitude is the measure of the growth of Anglo-Norman influence during the interval. At his summons the kings of Limerick or Thomond, Connaught, and Tirowen all appear to have led contingents to Carrickfergus. Aedh O'Neill was ready enough to assist in expelling his enemy Hugh de Lacy, but he managed to return home without giving hostages to John.[1] Cathal Crovderg's position was less independent, and, as we have seen, he was forced to give hostages. Murtough O'Brien[2] and his brother Donough were entirely dependent on English support. According to Roger de Wendover, more than twenty kinglets came to meet John in Dublin, and these, stricken with fear, did him homage and fealty. A few, however, who dwelt in inaccessible places scorned to come to the king,[3] and the king, it may be added, in the spirit in which he had lost Normandy, seems to have scorned to subdue them.

After this expedition, John was in a very

[1] Four Masters, *sub anno* 1209.

[2] A prest of 10 marks was given to Mariadac, King of Limerick, at Ardglas: Rot. de Prest., p. 196. Indeed the Irish contingents must have been considerable: there was a prest of £100 to the Bishop of Norwich for Irish soldiers he had retained, ibid., p. 178; and again £40, ibid., p. 188.

[3] Rog. of Wendover, vol. ii, p. 56.

literal sense *dominus Hiberniae*, meaning by Hibernia the parts occupied by the English. The lordships of both Ulster and Meath, with their castles, were in his hand. Even the fiefs of most of the subordinate barons had been confiscated, only to be redeemed on payment of fines, and many of the owners were his prisoners. The settled parts of the kingdoms of Limerick and of Cork had been dealt with at one time or another almost at his will, and the principal tenants there held directly of him. The counties of Dublin (including most of Wicklow) and Waterford were from the first crown-lands. No great fief remained in the hands of his barons except the lordship of Leinster. This indeed he had endeavoured to curtail, and had it been in the hands of any one less strong, less patient, less upright, and less unswervingly loyal to the throne than William Marshal, he would assuredly have found some excuse for confiscating it also. Even of the Irish kinglets there were none except the chieftains of Irish Ulster and Irish Uriel that were not more or less dependent on his favour. From the greater part of these vast territories he enforced not only the feudal dues recognized as of right belonging to the immediate lord, but also in many cases those increases and arbitrary exactions which in a short time banded the barons of England together to wring from him the Great Charter.

Results of John's expedition.

Had John really established the domination of the Crown over 'the five-fifths of Ireland', Celtic and Norman, and left behind him an organization and a government capable of maintaining peace, much might be said for this curbing and crushing of the Irish barons. But he personally made no attempt to do anything of the kind. The net result of his personal interference in Ireland would seem to have been to disturb and weaken the settlement which had already been effected, and to divert a considerable portion of the issues and profits of the land into his own coffers.

John credited with administrative reforms.

But John is credited with introducing English laws into Ireland, organizing the administration of justice, parcelling out the parts of Ireland subject to his jurisdiction into counties, and appointing sheriffs to execute the judgements of the courts. Let us examine how far this was so. The principal authority on the subject is an English chronicler whose cursory notice of John's visit to Ireland certainly contains one misstatement of fact. He says that John 'established there the laws and customs of England, appointing sheriffs and other officers to administer justice to the people of that kingdom according to English laws.'[1] This statement, as it stands, is probably not incorrect. It is, however, vague and perhaps misleading. On the one hand, it must not be inferred that English laws and

[1] Rog. of Wendover, vol. ii, p. 56.

customs were introduced into Ireland for the first time in 1210; and on the other, the statement as to sheriffs and other officers is no authority for the definite assertion, made first apparently by Hanmer at the close of the sixteenth century,[1] then by Sir John Davies in 1608,[2] and since blindly repeated by a host of writers, that John 'made twelve shires in Leinster and Munster, namely Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary'.

English law introduced by Henry II.

Whether by a formal ordinance to that effect or by mere implication, Henry had undoubtedly introduced English laws and customs into Ireland, so far at least as the new settlers, who were alone prepared to accept them, were concerned. His grants of the lordships of Leinster and Meath to be held on feudal conditions would alone show that English law and custom were to rule, and it seems unnecessary to labour the point;[3] but, except in the court of the justiciar and as regards the lands retained by the Crown, the administration of law would seem to have been left to the lords of the liberties themselves.

[1] Hanmer's Chronicle, first ed., p. 188. Hanmer (ob. 1604) was clearly only amplifying in his usual way Roger de Wendover's statement.

[2] Sir John Davies's Discovery (ed. 1787), p. 93; first published 1612.

[3] See Lynch's Institutions, c. i.

John's aim to increase the power of the Crown.

The dominating note of John's policy in Ireland was the increase of the power of the Crown and the weakening of that of the lords of the great liberties. In 1204 he granted authority to the justiciar that 'his writs should run throughout the king's entire land and dominion of Ireland', namely the writs of Right, of Mort d'Ancestor, of Novel Disseisin, of Fugitives and Villeins, and for Making Bounds;[1] and in 1207, at the time of the dissensions between Meiler and the barons, he forbade his subjects to answer in any court respecting their free tenements or on any plea of the Crown, save only before the king or his justiciar, or before the justices whom they should send for the upholding of the law.[2] These ordinances appear to have been directed against the courts of the liberties, which had apparently assumed a co-ordinate jurisdiction with the justiciar's court. When in 1208 John granted confirmation charters to William the Marshal and Hugh de Lacy, he introduced, as we have seen, some express exceptions and reservations not contained in the previous charters, and provided for appeals in certain cases to the king's court.

It seems that when John came to Ireland in

[1] Rot. Pat., 6 John, p. 47 b.

[2] Rot. Pat., 9 John, p. 76 b; cf. the king's reprimand of the barons of Leinster and Meath for attempting to create a new assize. Rot. Pat., 8 John, p. 72.

1210 he took some formal steps to enjoin and secure the observance of English laws and customs. There are several allusions to this in the rolls of Henry III. Thus in 1228 the king commanded the justiciar Richard de Burgh to read before a specially convened assemblage 'the charter of the lord King John, our father, to which his seal was appended, which he caused to be made and to be sworn to by the magnates of Ireland concerning the observance of the laws and customs of England in Ireland', and to enjoin again obedience to those laws and customs;[1] and in the year 1233, in another ordinance, concerning pleas of lay fee and advowsons of churches, the king refers to 'the laws and customs of the realm of England which the lord King John our father of happy memory, with the common consent of all men of Ireland, ordained to be kept in that land.'[2] Here again it would seem that, though no doubt the whole common law of England was included by the terms of this ordinance, the main object was to settle the jurisdiction and procedure of the various courts.

He took some steps to enforce English law, especially procedure.

[1] Rot. Claus, 12 Hen. III, m. 8; Early Statutes (Berry), p. 23.

[2] Rot. Pat., 18 Hen. III. m. 17; Early Statutes, p. 24. By 'all men of Ireland' is of course meant the Norman or English magnates. To have imposed English laws on the Celtic chieftains and their tribesmen would have been an utterly impossible task.

Itinerant justices.

The appointment of justices in eyre probably dates from about this time. Itinerant justices are alluded to in John's charter to the city of Waterford in 1215,[1] and in an ordinance of Henry III certain assizes are directed to be taken 'in the same form and plan and before the same judges as assizes were taken from the time when King John established English laws and customs in Ireland'.[2] But the jurisdiction of these justices, except as regards pleas of the Crown, was limited to the settled districts outside the great liberties, and was probably only gradually extended over even this restricted area, and proceeded *pari passu* with the formation of counties in the strict sense of sheriffdoms. As long as a liberty existed ordinary legal processes therein were executed by the officers of the lord of the liberty, and not by a sheriff appointed by the Crown. Indeed, the touchstone of a true liberty was that in it the king's writs were addressed to the lord of the liberty or to his seneschal, and not to the king's sheriff.

[1] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 13, where the charter is wrongly dated the 7th instead of the 17th John; cf. Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 580, and the witnesses to John's Dublin charter of 1215 and to his grant to Thomas Fitz Anthony, July 3 There appear to have been justices in eyre in Ulster in 1218: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 833.

[2] Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, m. 2. Up to 1221 only a single justice went on circuit: Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 451.

Formation of counties a gradual process.

The assertion that John divided Leinster and Munster into twelve counties in the sense of administrative units subject to sheriffs, is demonstrably incorrect. Sheriffs may have been appointed by the Crown or by the justiciar for the districts retained in the king's hand from the first, but there is no clear evidence of this until after John's visit. Soon after this we find Geoffrey Luterel, who was one of John's officers on his Irish expedition, described as *vicecomes Dubliniensis*,[1] and we read of the counties (*comitatus*) of Waterford and of Cork or Desmond, which, however, were given to the custody of Thomas Fitz Anthony, who no doubt appointed his own legal officers. Uriel and the forfeited liberty of Ulster are called bailiwicks in 1215, when they were in the custody of Roger Pipard as seneschal.[2] Meath, until restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215, may have been similarly treated. The honour of Limerick does not appear to have been revived, though the castle and city of Limerick were granted to the custody of Reginald de Braose, son of William de Braose, by Henry III in his first year at 'the old farm', and the lands of his father were restored to him. When Limerick was first treated as a county under the jurisdiction of a sheriff does not appear, but in the Pipe Roll of the 19th year of Henry III

[1] Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, p. 249; Reg. St. Thomas's, p. 17.

[2] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148.

(1235)[1] we have the accounts of sheriffs for the counties of Dublin, Munster (or Cork), Limerick, Uriel, Waterford, and Kerry. In 1261 there were in addition sheriffs for the counties of Tipperary and Connaught,[2] from which last-named was afterwards distinguished the county of Roscommon. So the list remained until the year 1297, when the first council of the magnates of Ireland which deserves the name of a parliament assembled. The writs summoning this parliament, called Wogan's first parliament, were addressed to the sheriffs of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Connaught, and Roscommon, and to the seneschals of the liberties of Meath, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Ulster.[3]

It would be out of place here to pursue this inquiry further. Enough has been said to show that the formation of counties (in the sense of administrative units where pleas were heard before itinerant justices and legal processes were executed by a sheriff appointed by the central government) was a very gradual process, and

[1] 35th Rep. Dep. Keeper Ireland, pp. 34–7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 40, 44.

[3] Early Statutes of Ireland (Berry), p. 195. The text is given in Irish Arch. Soc. Misc., p. 15. Kildare here appears for the first time as a sheriffdom. It had been recently surrendered to the king, so that the liberty had merged in the Crown: Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iv, no. 365. By this parliament Kildare was constituted a separate county.

did not extend to the liberties included in the 'twelve counties' mentioned for many generations. A beginning, however, was probably made about the time of King John's visit, but for this and other administrative improvements, as well as for an improved coinage, credit should probably be given not directly to John, but to his minister, John de Gray, whom he left behind him as justiciar. The appointment to the chief office in Ireland of a cultivated English ecclesiastic, trained in affairs, and with a practical knowledge of legal and administrative machinery, was the best thing John did for Ireland at this time.

CHAPTER XXII

EPISCOPAL VICEROYS
1210–16

WHEN King John departed from Ireland he left behind him his faithful minister, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, as justiciar.[1] By the Irish annalists he is usually designated 'the Foreign Bishop'. The epithet, whether so intended or not, may serve to recall the facts that he was the first episcopal viceroy and, with one or two unimportant exceptions, the first chief governor who had not already thrown in his fortunes with Ireland and was not a great Irish landholder. Meiler Fitz Henry was a brave soldier and an able commander, and one well adapted to the rough-and-tumble work of the 'first conquest', but he had not developed the qualities of a statesman, and possessed neither the prudence, the tact, nor the authority requisite to guide and control the barons of Ireland. In

'The Foreign Bishop.'

Meiler deficient as a ruler.

[1] The Four Masters in recording the bishop's appointment under the year 1208 (which may be right) add: 'and the English were excommunicated by the successor of St. Peter for sending the bishop to carry on war in Ireland'—a novel reading of papal motives in proclaiming the interdict!

the course of his ten years' tenure of office he had fallen foul of, and even come into armed collision with, William de Burgh, William de Braose, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Geoffrey de Marisco, and William Marshal. He had not even the territorial status to enable him, apart from his office, to take his place among the greater barons. He held lands about Dunamase in the lordship of Leinster and about Ardnurcher in the lordship of Meath, but he was tenant *in capite* only of some distant and unprofitable lands in the west of Kerry. Nor, so far as we can judge, was he always justified in his opposition to the great barons. It may indeed be said that he was always loyal to the Crown, and was at worst only the tool of a capricious and tyrannical master; but there is reason to think that in some cases, at any rate, he was not merely a willing tool, but that in the counsel he gave to his sovereign he aimed rather at advancing his own interests than at promoting the general weal.

The new justiciar, whatever his imperfections as an ecclesiastic may have been, was a trained statesman and man of affairs, and something of a military strategist besides. He regarded the colony as a whole, set about strengthening the weak parts in its defence, and by diplomacy backed by military measures endeavoured to win the submission of those Irish chieftains who still

retained more or less of their independence. He at once saw the strategic importance of Athlone. Whoever held the passage over the Shannon here held the gate between Connaught and Meath. This indeed had long been perceived by the O'Conors. As long ago as 1129 they had erected a fort of some sort here, and had again and again, in 1120 and subsequent years, thrown wicker-bridges across the river in order that, as one Irish annalist explains, 'they might at their pleasure have access to take the spoils of Westmeath'. As often as built, however, the bridges at the first opportunity had been destroyed by the O'Melaghlins of Meath, whose land was threatened thereby.[1]

Athlone the gate of Connaught.

[1] Here are the notices in the annals of the Four Masters of the bridge of Athlone, which has been strangely described as 'a work of much merit and utility in those days':— 1120: Bridge built by Turlough O'Conor, after making 'a false peace' with Murrough O'Melaghlin. 1125: Bridge destroyed by the men of Meath. 1129: Bridge and castle built by Turlough. 1133: Bridge and castle destroyed by O'Melaghlin and O'Rourke. 1140: A wicker-bridge made by Turlough, and 'he devastated the west of Meath'. 1153: The wicker-bridge destroyed by Melaghlin O'Melaghlin and its fortress (*daingen*) demolished. 1155: A wicker-bridge was made by Turlough 'for the purpose of making incursions into Meath'. It was destroyed in the same year, and its fortress (*longport*) burned by Donough O'Melaghlin. 1159: A wicker-bridge made by Rory O'Conor 'for the purpose of making incursions into Meath'. The forces of Meath went to prevent the erection of the bridge, and a battle was fought at Athlone.

Athlone had been occupied by the English before 1199, when, we are told, the bawn there was burned by Cathal Crovderg;[1] and it seems probable that the mound of earth, to this day contained by the curtain walls of the castle, represents the mote thrown up in connexion with this bawn. Possibly the original wooden tower and wooden defences were no longer in existence in 1210. At any rate, immediately after the king's departure John de Gray commenced to build a bridge—no doubt a wooden bridge—and a strong castle at Athlone.[2] We are expressly told by one Irish annalist[3] that the castle was of stone, from which we may infer that such a castle was even then a novelty, at least in this neighbourhood. It included 'a stone tower' or keep, built, no doubt, on the summit of the mote where its successor stands to-day. This tower, perhaps owing to the looseness of the artificial foundation, fell next year, and in its fall killed Richard de Tuit and eight Englishmen besides. He was the Richard de Tuit at whose castle of Granard King John had stopped on

A castle of stone built there.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1199, where the *bodhun Atha*, 'the bawn of the ford,' seems clearly to refer to Athlone. It was probably by way of reply to this attack that the cantred in Connaught known as Tir Fhiachrach bhfeadha, or the Faes of Athlone, was granted in the next year to Geoffrey de Costentin: Rot. Chart., 2 John, p. 79 b.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1210.

[3] Ann. Clonmacnois: *caislen cloiche—tor cloiche.*

August 12, 1210, and was probably the same Richard de Tuit to whom the elder Hugh de Lacy had granted 'a rich feoffment'. According to some of the Irish annals he was left in Ireland as Lord Chief Justice in 1211, when John de Gray and the magnates of Ireland were summoned by the king to attend the expedition undertaken in that year against Llewelyn of Wales. This statement is probably correct, and Richard de Tuit was probably concerned with the castle of Athlone in his capacity as deputy at the time of his tragic death.[1]

[1] See Ann. Clonmacnois and Four Masters, 1210 (the true date was 1211 : Ann. Loch Cé ; Laud MS. Ann., Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin). O'Donovan, on quite insufficient grounds, questions the statement that Richard de Tuit was justiciar at the time, but though the date is wrong and the entry in the Four Masters confused, it is pretty clear that John de Gray and the magnates were summoned for the campaign of 1211 (described by Rog. de Wendover, vol. ii, p. 58), as they certainly were for the abortive one of 1212 (Rot. Claus., 16 John, p. 131 b). In the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal it is expressly stated (ll. 14447–86) that William Marshal fought for the king against Llewelyn in the year after John's Irish expedition. From the Pipe Roll, 13 John, it appears that the Bishop of Norwich brought the king's money from Ireland in that year, and Roger de Wendover includes him among the king's *consiliarii iniquissimi* at the time (Aug. 30, 1211) when Pandulf the papal legate absolved John's subjects from their allegiance. During the absence from Ireland of the Bishop of Norwich somebody must have been appointed justiciar or deputy in his room, and there is no reason to doubt that this was Richard de Tuit.

The castle of Athlone was soon rebuilt, and perhaps the mote was this time revetted with masonry, similarly as we see it to-day, so that the disaster should not recur. The castle has been altered from time to time to suit later military requirements. It was tremendously shattered by Ginckell in 1691, and since restored. Yet it remains to-day in essentials much as we may suppose it to have been left by John de Gray: a great platform of earth, raised some twenty-five feet above the river-bank, held in position by strong retaining walls, and bearing on top a massive decagonal donjon-tower. The reconstructed castle was given to the custody of Geoffrey de Costentin, to whom John had previously given lands in the neighbouring district on the Roscommon side, and except for a comparatively brief period in the fifteenth century, when the Crown lost possession of it, it has always remained a royal castle.[1]

Peace of Athlone, 1210.

While John de Gray was building this castle and bridge at Athlone in 1210, an expedition, probably authorized by the king, was led into Connaught by Geoffrey de Marisco, Thomas Fitz Maurice, and the English of Munster, supported as usual by Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and his men. Aedh, one of the sons of Rory O'Conor, was brought with them, in case it should

[1] See my paper, 'Athlone: its early history,' Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, pp. 257–76.

be necessary to play off a rival claimant to the throne. Cathal, however, showed no fight, and on his agreeing to meet the justiciar all depredations were stayed. At Athlone peace was concluded between the justiciar and Cathal. The latter was now prepared to satisfy King John's demands. The obligation to pay rent or tribute was again acknowledged, and Cathal gave his son Turlough and the son of another noble as hostages.[1]

The terms of the Peace of Athlone were apparently more favourable to Cathal than the arrangement of 1205. They were finally embodied in the charter of 1215, by which John granted and confirmed to Cathal all the land of Connaught to hold of the king in fee during good service, and so that the King of Connaught should not be disseised of his land without judgement of the king's court, rendering for ever to the king 300 marks, and saving to the king the castle of Athlone.[2] The grant, however,

Charter of Connaught, 1215.

[1] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1208 or 1209 (*recte* 1210); Ann. Loch Cé, 1210. Next year (1211) the four hostages forcibly taken by John at Rathwire were restored (ibid. 1211). Cathal kept Christmas probably in 1212 with the deputy in Dublin (Ann. Clonmacnois, 1211). Cathal's son, Turlough, died in restraint with the Englishmen (ibid. 1213).

[2] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 219. Cathal was to pay 5,000 marks for this charter; Rot. Claus., 17 John, p. 228 b. At the same time an alternative charter was prepared granting to Richard de Burgh all the land of Connaught which William his father held of the king; Rot. Chart.,

was personal to Cathal, and he was liable to be disseised by judgement of the king's court in default of good service. In pursuance of this treaty two cantreds in the neighbourhood of Roscommon, which had been granted under the former arrangement to John Marshal and Philip de Angulo respectively, appear to have been restored to Cathal and the feoffees compensated.[1]

The Peace of Athlone seems to have been on the whole loyally observed on both sides until after Cathal's death in 1224. Cathal remained a faithful vassal of the king, sending petitions to him directly or through the English justiciar, and in common with other tenants *in capite* receiving the king's mandates.[2] Though he was attacked more than once by the sons of Rory, these aspirants to the throne of Connaught

17 John, m. 3 (p. 218 b). This charter, we must suppose, was to be delivered only if Cathal failed to take up the other, and in the events which happened became for the time a dead letter. It is, however, an example of John's double-dealing.

[1] Rot. Claus., 17 John, p. 223, Cal. no. 630, where 'the cantred of Roscoman' appears to be equivalent to Moy Ai, and Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 152, Cal. no. 537 where 'Kilman' is probably now represented by the parish of Kilmeane, where we may perhaps see a trace of Anglo-Norman tenure in the demesne of Mote Park; cf. the grant to John Marshal in 1207 (Rot. Chart., 9 John, p. 173 b) 'of the cantred in which the vill of Kylmien is situated'.

[2] Royal, &c., Letters, Hen. III (Shirley), vol. i, pp. 165, 183, 223; Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. III, p. 390 b, and 5 Hen. III, p. 476 b.

received no assistance from the English. Once indeed in 1221 Walter de Lacy made an attempt to build a castle at Athleague, a ford over the Shannon to the north of Lough Ree, but he was at once compelled by Cathal to desist;[1] and once in 1219 Richard de Burgh, who had hereditary claims to parts of Connaught, privately sought to obtain a charter curtailing Cathal's rights,[2] but this proposal was for the time rejected, and to the end Cathal remained King of Connaught, owing tribute to, and receiving protection from, the English Crown.

Policy of John de Gray.

The ultimate aim of John de Gray's policy, like that of Henry VIII more than three centuries later, seems to have been to convert the Irish kings who were still independent into feudal barons holding their several tribe-lands directly from the English Crown. No attempt was made to impose feudal law on the tribesmen, and though the charter to Cathal was in form similar to the grant of a liberty to an English baron, reserving the pleas of the Crown, it is probable that no attempt was made to hold these pleas or interfere in any way as long as Cathal 'served the king well'. A rent of 300 marks was exacted and an occasional aid demanded, as from the English barons. In return letters of protection were granted, and, as we have said, during

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1221.

[2] Rot. Claus., 3 Hen. III, p. 401; Cal. no. 900.

Cathal's lifetime the treaty seems to have worked well. It was certainly an improvement on the Treaty of Windsor, which left the other Irish kings subordinate to the King of Connaught, and tributary, through him, to the English Crown. This, as we have seen, was from the first unworkable. But even if John de Gray had succeeded in making similar arrangements with the northern chieftains, we may well doubt whether the aim of the policy could have been effected. On the one hand there was the constant pressure of English barons seeking more land and offering better security to the Crown for rents and services, and on the other there was a constant temptation, if not to the actual chiefs, at least to some aspirant to the throne, to gain popularity and power by refusing to pay tribute, throwing off the slight restraints imposed by the treaty, and carrying out some successful raid against the foreigners. Above all, the effect of granting the tribal territory as an hereditary fief to the existing chieftain was to introduce the feudal rule of descent and to disappoint the roydamnas, other than the chieftain's eldest son, of all hope of succession.

Having thus secured the allegiance of the King of Connaught, while that of the O'Briens of Thomond was already assured, John de Gray next turned his attention to the chieftains of the north of Ireland. Aedh O'Neill, the most powerful of these, had, as we have seen, joined the

expedition to Carrickfergus to expel his dangerous neighbour Hugh de Lacy, but he avoided giving hostages to King John—perhaps he refused to give them. We may conclude that John had directed his justiciar, after securing Cathal's allegiance, to take measures to enforce the submission of the north. It was a difficult enterprise, as the whole history of Ireland shows, and, with the scanty means at the bishop's disposal, an impossible one. Nevertheless the bishop seems to have laid his plans well. The recalcitrant chieftains were attacked from three different quarters. First of all a hosting of Connaught men, presumably by agreement with Cathal, was sent under the leadership of Gilbert Mc Costello (who had long been in Cathal's service, and held land in Connaught) to Assaroe, at the debatable borderland between Connaught and Tirconnell. Here, somewhere in the district known as Caol-uisce (Narrow Water), where the waters of Lough Erne begin to narrow into the river, they erected a castle.[1] This was the gate of Connaught from the north, and the scene of many a battle with the Cinel Connell. Cathal may have consented to the erection of a castle here to protect Connaught from his hereditary foes,

Attempt to subdue the chieftains of the north.

Castle of Caol-uisce.

[1] Ann. Ulster, Ann. Loch Cé, 1212; Four Masters, 1211. In 1214 the territory of Carbury (Co. Sligo), not many miles south of Assaroe, is called by the Four Masters the possession of Philip Mac Costello.

while John de Gray's object may rather have been to obtain a basis for action in this direction against the northern chieftains. About the same time the bishop led an English force to Clones and erected a castle there, with the object, according to an Irish annalist, 'of taking possession of the North of Erinn'. Clones was an ancient ecclesiastical centre in Irish Uriel, and lay outside the area of English domination, the limits of which in this region seem to have been marked by Roger Pipard's castle of Donaghmoyne. There is a steep mote at Clones which may be regarded as a memorial of this expedition. The attempt, however, failed. Mac Mahon, chieftain of Uriel, checked the advance into Tirowen, and Aedh O'Neill completed the defeat.[1]

Castle of Clones.

Lastly, the bishop probably countenanced, if he did not actually plan, an incursion made in this year by the Scots of Galloway to Derry and Inishowen against the Cinel Owen. John, as we have seen, had rewarded Duncan of Carrick's capture of Maud de Braose by a grant of territory between Wulfrichford (near Larne) and Glenarm in Antrim. He also, it seems, promised a huge grant of lands in the northern part of the lordship of Ulster to Alan Fitz Roland, Earl of Galloway, Duncan's nephew.[2] Some time in the spring of

Incursion by the Scots of Galloway.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, Ann. Ulster, 1212; Four Masters, 1211.

[2] 'Alanus filius Roulandi' accompanied John's army in Ireland: Rot. de Prest., 12 John, p. 186.

1212 the bishop met at Carrickfergus emissaries from Alan, including Alan's uncle, and there assigned to Alan on the king's behalf 140 fees, extending apparently over the whole north-east of Ulster from the river Foyle to the Glynns of Antrim. From this grant were excepted ten fees on each side of the Bann near the castle of Kilsantan, which were to be retained in the king's hand; also all church-lands, and the lands already granted to Duncan of Carrick.[1] It can hardly be a mere coincidence that in this same year Alan's brother, Thomas, Earl of Athol, and some of the Mac Donnells came with a fleet of seventy-six ships to Derry, and in company with O'Donnell spoiled Inishowen.[2] Indeed the expeditions of the men of Galloway mentioned in the annals are regularly followed by grants from

[1] Rot. Pat., 14 John, p. 98; C. D. I., vol. i, no. 427. See this document transcribed with annotations by Bishop Reeves: Eccl. Ant. Down, Connor, and Dromore, pp. 323–5. The grant to Alan was confirmed by John in 1215 (Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 210), and by Henry III in 1220; Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III, p. 420 b.

[2] Ann. Ulster, 1212; Ann. Loch Cé, 1211; Four Masters, 1211. There can be little doubt that the true date of all three expeditions, to Caol-uisce, Clones, and Derry, was 1212. The entries in the Four Masters at this period are regularly antedated by a year. Inishowen, the peninsula between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle, was for centuries debatable land between the Cinel Owen and the Cinel Connell. It had been plundered by John de Courcy in 1197, and seems to have been taken by O'Neill from O'Donnell after a bloody battle in 1209 (Ann. Ulster, &c.).

the Crown to the leaders engaged. Thus the expedition of 1212 was rewarded in July 1213 by a grant to the Earl of Athol of that part of Derry which belonged to O'Neill.[1] Again, in 1214 Thomas Mac Uchtry (as the Irish annalists call the Earl of Athol after his grandfather, Uchtred or Gothred) built the castle of Coleraine, 'and they threw down all the cemeteries and clochans (probably dry-stone beehive-shaped cells) and buildings of the town, excepting the church alone, in order to build this castle.'[2] It was evidently of stone. On the same day as King John confirmed the charter to Alan of Galloway (June 27, 1215) he granted another to his brother Thomas, including Kilsantan and the castle of Coleraine, with ten knights' fees on both sides of the Bann.[3]

Castle of Coleraine.

[1] Rot. Chart., 15 John, m. 3 (p. 194), where 'Talachot' is perhaps Tullyhoe in the parish of Tallaght-Finlagan, Keenaught, and not, as has been supposed, Tullaghoge near Dungannon. There are indications that this grant was not wholly inoperative. There were Mac Donnells in Derry in the middle of the thirteenth century. Thus in 1259 Aedh O'Conor went to Derry to espouse the daughter of Dugald, son of Sorley Mac Donnell, and he brought home eight-score men with her, together with Alan Mac Sorley; Ann. Loch Cé.

[2] Ann. Ulster, 1214; Ann. Loch Cé, 1213. In the previous year O'Kane, the petty King of Ciannacta and Fir na Craibhe, districts west of the Bann which had been granted to Alan, was killed by the Foreigners; and in 1214 Thomas of Galloway and Rory Mac Raghnall (Mac Donnell) again plundered Derry and carried off the loot to Coleraine.

[3] Rot. Chart., 17 John, pt. i, m. 10 (p. 210). The castle of Coleraine was demolished by Hugh de Lacy and Aedh

Thus early were the Scots planted in the north-east of Ireland, where they lived for centuries and formed a clan distinct from, but hardly less turbulent than, the Irish clans of Tirowen.

The attempt unsuccessful.

Notwithstanding these comprehensive plans, the attempt to enforce the submission of Aedh O'Neill was a failure. Not only did he repulse the advance into Tirowen from the newly erected castle of Clones, but in the following year, 1213, he burned the castle itself.[1] About the same time, at his instigation, the subordinate chieftain of Fermanagh, named O'Hegney, whose daughter Benmee was married to Aedh, burned the castle of Caol-uisce and killed its garrison, including Gilbert Mc Costello ;[2] and in 1214 Aedh 'dealt a red slaughter' on the foreigners of Ulidia.[3]

O'Neill in 1222 (Ann. Ulster, 1222 ; Ann. Loch Cé, 1221). When Hugh de Lacy's lands were restored in 1226–7 it would seem that the restoration was made 'saving the seisins of Alan and Thomas de Galloway' (C. D. I., vol. i, nos. 1372, 1498). In the town of Coleraine on the west side of the Bann is an artificial mound known as Gallows Hill, near the church of Killowen. This was probably the site of Thomas of Galloway's castle, and also of a later castle, called Drum Tairsigh, erected in 1248.

[1] Ann. Ulster and Ann. Loch Cé, 1213.

[2] Ibid. O'Hegney's name is given, Ann. Clonmacnois and Four Masters, 1212. Benmee died 1215.

[3] Ann. Ulster and Ann. Loch Cé, 1214. O'Neill is said at the same time to have burned 'the Carlongphort'. This has been taken to refer to Carlingford, but it can hardly mean the castle, which seems to have been at this time safe in the custody of Roger Pipard (Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148),

In fact, during a long reign of upwards of thirty years, though his territory was frequently raided by the foreigners, and though he had many conflicts with the Cinel Connell, with Connaught, and even with his own tribesmen, Aedh O'Neill remained to the last 'a king who gave neither pledge nor hostage to Foreigner nor Gael'.[1]

Disturbances in Fircal, Delvin, and Ely.

After his repulse by Mac Mahon and O'Neill in 1212, John de Gray's attention was diverted by disturbances in the south-western portion of Meath, which it will be recollected was at this time in the king's hand. The ancient kingdom of Meath extended into the western part of the modern King's County, where the barony of Garrycastle represents the Irish district of Delvin Mac Coghlan, and the baronies of Ballycowan, Ballyboy, and Eglish represent the district of Fircal. The remaining western baronies, Ballybritt and Clonlisk, were included in Ely O'Carroll, which was reckoned part of Munster, and in the diocese of Killaloe. Since 1184, when Art O'Melaghlin, King of West Meath, was killed, Melaghlin Beg, or 'the Little', was king of the Irish of that region. In recent years, like the Kings of Thomond and Connaught, he seems to

and it may be doubted whether it refers to that place at all, which is elsewhere always called Cairlinn in the Annals. Perhaps some minor fortress or fortified camp (*longport*) in the neighbourhood of Coleraine was intended.

[1] Ann. Loch Cé, 1230.

have acquiesced in the Norman policy of 'pacific penetration', in the building of castles and planting of English settlements in various parts of his reduced kingdom, and we find Norman baron and subordinate Irish chieftain living in amity as neighbours. But there were among the 'roydamnas' some who resented the submission of their rulers, and perhaps thought by a 'spirited foreign policy' to earn for themselves the succession to the chieftainship. Such were Murtough, son of Brian O'Brien of Slieve Bloom, and Cormac, son of Art O'Melaghlin. Brian of Slieve Bloom had been for a brief period, in 1168–9, King of Ormond, when he was blinded by his brother, Donnell Mor O'Brien,[1] and thus Murtough had through his father special claims on Ormond, including presumably Ely O'Carroll, or the territory to the west of Slieve Bloom. This district was included in the grant to Theobald Walter; but he died in 1206, and as his son was a minor[2] the fief was taken into the king's hand. In 1207, however, John gave Matilda le Vavasour, widow of Theobald Walter, in marriage to Fulk Fitz Warin, with seisin of one-third of Theobald's land in dower.[3] How

Murtough, son of Brian of Slieve Bloom.

[1] Ann. Tigernach Continuation, 1168; Four Masters, 1169. See Pedigree of the O'Briens, *supra*, p. 151.

[2] This son, Theobald II, came of age and obtained seisin in 1221: Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, p. 463 b.

[3] Rot. Claus., 9 John, p. 92 b.

far Theobald had exploited his Irish lands cannot be stated with certainty,[1] but he gave a large grant in Ely in frank-marriage to his daughter Beatrice (by a former marriage) and Thomas de Hereford,[2] and we may perhaps infer that the castles in Ely to be mentioned presently were erected by Theobald's feoffees. Fircal, as we have seen, seems to have been claimed by Meiler Fitz Henry adversely to Walter de Lacy, but in the winter of 1207–8, in the course of his dispute with William Marshal and the de Lacys, Meiler was driven out of Fircal and out of his castle of Ardnurcher. Soon afterwards, taking advantage, no doubt, of the falling out of the invaders to endeavour to regain the territory near Slieve Bloom, Murtough O'Brien destroyed the castles of Kinnity, Birr, and Lothra—perhaps Lorrha, in County Tipperary, or perhaps the place now known as the Mote of Laragh (Ir. *Lathrach*), in Upper Ossory.[3] This was in 1208. In the

[1] We can trace Theobald exercising acts of ownership at Caherconlish and Abbeyowney in County Limerick, at Nenagh, Thurles, and perhaps Lorrha, in County Tipperary, as well as in Ely. He also held lands at Arklow, Tullow, and Gowran, in Leinster, and at Ardmulchan in Meath.

[2] These lands included Corcatenny (now the parish of Templemore) and Ikerrin in County Tipperary: Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, pp. 196–7. Beatrice afterwards married Hugh Purcell, baron of Lochmoe (ibid., p. 193). Roger Poer was another of Theobald's feoffees in Ely (ibid., p. 198).

[3] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1207. At this time Murtough

preceding year the sons of Art O'Melaghlin, who was the predecessor of Melaghlin Beg in the titular kingship of Meath, preyed the town of Ballyloughloe and burnt part thereof. Melaghlin Beg and certain English forces overtook the marauders, but were discomfited, and a son of the king was slain.[1] In 1212 Cormac, one of the sons of Art O'Melaghlin, again became very active. He was opposed not only by the English settlers, but sometimes by Irishmen as well, but he was generally successful, especially over the English. He wrested Delvin Mac Coghlan from them, probably early in 1212. Thereupon 'the foreign bishop' hastened to Leinster, and, joined by the forces of Munster under Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, delivered battle at a place called Kilnagrann in Fircal, but was defeated with loss of 'cows, horses, gold, silver, and other things'.[2] Next, in 1213, a purely Irish combination, consisting of an O'Brien of Thomond, an O'Melaghlin

Cormac O'Melaghlin.

O'Brien, with the sons of O'Conor of Connaught, also spoiled the castle of Athronny in Leix, identified by O'Donovan with Ballyroan in Queen's County. There are, or were, motes at these four places: Journ. R. S. A. I. 1909, p. 336.

[1] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1206. Ballyloughloe (Ir. *Baile locha Luatha*, 'the town of the lake of ashes,' i. e. dried-up lake?) is six miles east of Athlone. There is 'a typical Norman mote here fashioned out of an esker ridge, and apparently untouched since it bore its wooden tower and wooden palisades': Journ. R. S. A. I. 1907, p. 273.

[2] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1211; Ann. Loch Cé, 1212.

of Meath, an O'Dempsy of Clan Malier, and a Mac Gillapatrick of Upper Ossory, succeeded in giving Cormac 'an overthrow'.[1] Evidently Cormac was a discontented roydamna, who tried to win a principality, or at least plunder, for himself, and cared not at whose expense. Then the Englishmen of Meath combined against him, but once more were overthrown at the same battlefield of Kilnagrann in Fircal. Among the names of those slain we can recognize Piers Messet, Baron of Lune in Meath. This time Cormac was assisted by Aedh, son of Conor Mainmoy, and Melaghlin, son of Cathal Carragh, disappointed 'roydamnas' like himself.[2] They formed a sort of 'cave of Adullam'. On the side of the English was Geoffrey de Marisco, who was perhaps temporarily appointed *custos* or deputy

[1] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1212. These chieftains had all probably made terms with the English. They were Murtough O'Brien of Thomond, Donnell, son of Donnell Bregach O'Melaghlin, the recognized tanist of Melaghlin Beg of West Meath, Cuilen O'Dempsy of Clan Malier, and Donnell Clannagh MacGillapatrick of Upper Ossory. All of them were left in possession of parts of their territories.

[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1213; Ann. Clonmacnois, Four Masters, 1212. The editor of the Annals of Loch Cé, following O'Donovan, suggests that the two entries as to Kilnagrann refer to the same battle, but the details as well as the dates are different. The second battle probably took place after John de Gray's return to England in July 1213. Obit Petrus Messet, 1213, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin, vol. i, p. 31.

in the place of the Bishop of Norwich, prior to the arrival of the new justiciar, Archbishop Henri de Londres.[1]

Henri de Londres had been recently appointed Archbishop of Dublin in succession to John Cumin, who died about the close of 1212. He had been a trusted minister of King John from the beginning of his reign. He was an experienced lawyer, and had acted as an itinerant justice in Berkshire and as a judge of the king's bench at Westminster. He was a skilful diplomatist, and had been employed on various embassies to foreign countries. He had served as a treasury official, and it is probable that his experience as such was not the least of his recommendations for his new post in his master's eyes, now that Ireland was becoming a considerable source of revenue to the Crown. He was not unknown in Ireland. As Archdeacon of Stafford he had formed one of a special commission sent to Ireland in 1204 to adjudicate on the cross plaints of Meiler Fitz Henry and William de Burgh, and at the same time he was commissioned along with Meiler Fitz Henry to negotiate with Cathal Crovderg concerning the

Henri de Londres justiciar.

[1] The Bishop of Norwich, with 500 knights and many horsemen from Ireland, attended the great muster at Barham Down near Canterbury, May 4–6, 1213, and appears not to have returned to Ireland: Rog. of Wend., vol. ii, p. 67. Archbishop Henri did not reach Ireland before the end of July, when he came as justiciar.

future tenure of Connaught.[1] He was again sent to Ireland in June 1212,[2] but for what purpose does not appear. And now, on July 23, 1213, three days after the ceremony of the king's absolution from the papal excommunication, John thanked the prelates and magnates of Ireland for their good and faithful service, which had been commended by the Bishop of Norwich, and notified to them the appointment of Archbishop Henri as justiciar.[3] At this time the archbishop retained the office of justiciar for barely two years, when he was summoned to the king's presence and stood by the king at Runnymede on June 15, 1215.[4] On July 6, Geoffrey de Marisco was formally appointed justiciar in his stead,[5] and it was not until July 1221 that the archbishop was again in complete control, under the king, of the government of Ireland.[6] As justiciar, and still more indelibly as archbishop, he has left his mark on the country. At present, however, we are only concerned with his doings during his first tenure of office, when he was

[1] Rot. Pat., 5 John, p. 39 b; Rot. de Lib., 5 John, p. 83.
[2] Rot. Claus., 14 John, m. 8.
[3] Rot. Pat., 15 John, p. 102.
[4] Rog. of Wend., vol. ii, p. 118.
[5] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148.
[6] Cal. Docs. Ireland, no. 997. Prior to this, in 1217, Geoffrey de Marisco was ordered to abide by the archbishop's counsel, especially as to disbursements from the Exchequer, and do nothing without his assent; ibid., no. 780.

more of a statesman and less of an ecclesiastic than he afterwards became.

The new justiciar arrived in Ireland about the beginning of August 1213, and had at once to deal with the disturbances in Ely O'Carroll, Fircal, and Delvin. Carrying out the plans of castle-building initiated by his predecessor, he first of all built or completed a castle at Roscrea.[1] The situation, near the southern end of the Slieve Bloom Mountains, was well chosen to command and keep open at this critical point the main route from Dublin and Kildare to the newly settled districts in Ormond and Limerick. It was on the line of the ancient Irish road known as *slighe Dala*. The old but now probably disused monastery of St. Cronan, still marked by the ruins of a round tower and Romanesque church, formerly existed at Roscrea, and the church-lands on which the castle was built belonged to the see of Killaloe, in which the ancient bishopric of Roscrea had been recently merged. An inquisition taken in 1245[2] informs us of the circumstances in which the castle was built, and is substantiated on all essential points by the annals. It is interesting, too, as showing incontrovertibly that even at this period the Normans, sometimes at any rate,

Castle at Roscrea.

[1] Four Masters, 1212 (*recte* 1213).

[2] Inquis. P. M., 29 Hen. III, no. 43; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2760.

built castles of the mote and bretesche type. The inquisition was evidently taken at the request of Donatus or Donough O'Kennedy, then Bishop of Killaloe, with a view to obtaining compensation for the church-lands occupied by the castle. The jurors found that in time past Murtough Mac Brien ravaged the land of Ormond and Ely O'Carroll, and levelled five castles there, whereupon the king's force and council assembled at Roscrea to expel Murtough. The king's council commenced fortifying a castle in the vill of Roscrea, by erecting a mote and bretesche (*mota et britagium*). The lands at the time belonged as of right to the bishopric of Killaloe, and the bishop, Cornelius or Conor O'Heney, hearing that Archbishop Henri had by King John's direction repaired to the vill, came thither and forbade, under penalty of excommunication, the continuing of the work. The justiciar thereupon besought Bishop Cornelius on behalf of the king that he might be allowed for the common good to fortify the mote and bretesche until the termination of the war, undertaking in the king's name that the bishop should then have the vill and its appurtenances, or the just value thereof. The bishop thereupon granted permission accordingly. The jurors further found that the lands were worth thirty-five marks a year, and that the custodian of the castle received the marches as his fee. Whether the

bishop obtained compensation immediately as a result of this finding does not appear, but ultimately, in 1280, when an Edwardian castle, the ruins of which remain, was being built at Roscrea, the matter was settled by the bishop, Matthew O'Hogan, granting to the king the manor of Roscrea, and the king 'releasing' to the bishop three carucates and 84½ acres of land in the manor of Newcastle de Leuan in the vale of Dublin.[1]

After building the castle the English forces fought a battle with Murtough, son of Brian of Slieve Bloom, at Killeigh, a little to the south of Tullamore, in which Melaghlin, son of Cathal Carragh, was killed.[2] We hear no more of Murtough.

Next year (1214) Cormac, son of Art O'Melaghlin, continued his raids and succeeded in taking spoils from the castles of Ardnurcher and Kinclare. Then a great muster was made of all the forces of the English 'together with all the Irish forces that owed service to the King of England', and at last Cormac suffered a defeat at their hands, probably at Clara, in the barony of Kilcoursy, and Cormac was banished from Delvin.[3] Then the English built a castle at Clonmacnois, where a mote and bailey sur-

Castle of Clonmacnois.

[1] Rot. Chart., 8 Ed. I; Cal. Docs. Ireland, ii, 1663, 1664.
[2] Ann. Clonmacnois, Four Masters, 1212 (*recte* 1213).
[3] Ibid. 1213 (*recte* 1214).

rounded by a deep ditch still support the ruins of a later stone-castle. They also repaired or re-erected the castles of Durrow, Birr, and Kinnitty,[1] so that the whole district was ringed round with castles, all probably of the mote and bretesche type. The wooden defences of these castles, once they were carried, were easily destroyed, but the earthworks remained and were almost as easily re-fortified.

Like the castles of Athlone and Roscrea, the castle of Clonmacnois was built on church-land, and for all three compensation was duly paid to the ecclesiastical owner. In the case of Athlone the tithe of the expenses of the castle was ordered to be paid to the prior, and four cantreds in the fee of Loughsewdy, confiscated from Walter de Lacy, were assigned to him, and when these lands were restored to Walter an exchange was ordered to be made. For many years an annuity of ten marks for 'the vill, castle, mill, and fishery towards Connaught' was paid to the prior of Athlone.[2] In the case of Roscrea, as we have seen, the compensation appears to have been delayed, but when given at last it

[1] Ibid. In the Annals of Loch Cé, 1214, is mentioned the building of the castles of Clonmacnois and Durrow, and further depredations of Cormac, son of Art, including the burning of the bawns of the castles of Ballyboy in Fircal and of Birr.

[2] Rot. Claus., 16 John, p. 170 b; 18 John, p. 273; Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2289.

was given with a generous hand. In the case of Clonmacnois the justiciar was ordered to compensate the bishop for his land occupied in fortifying the castle, for his fruit-trees cut down, his cows, horses, oxen, and household utensils taken away or 'commandeered' during the carrying on of the works.[1]

Favourable treatment of church property.

This favourable treatment of church property, and indeed of the rights of the Church generally, by the Normans in Ireland contrasts strongly with their comparative disregard of the rights and property of laymen, whether princes or peasants, and whether native or foreign, and indeed is a complete inversion of more modern notions on the subject. Laymen of Norman blood were disseised by the Crown, in John's reign at all events, on the slightest pretext. Irish tribe-lands were disposed of even before the tribes were subdued, but in the grants made, whether by the Crown or by the barons, church property was habitually respected. In Ireland, as elsewhere, the clergy enjoyed under the Normans many rights and exemptions denied to laymen, and occupied in the eye of the law an exceptionally favourable position. These and other considerations make it impossible to believe that the plundering of churches so frequently recorded by the monkish annalists, especially in the earlier years of the invasion,

[1] Rot. Claus., 18 John, p. 273.

was due to want of piety or due respect for the Church. We have already given positive proof, both from English and from Irish sources, that it was usual, at any rate in times of disturbance, to store provisions and goods of all sorts in churches, or within the sanctuaries of churches, for their better protection.[1] To seize these was an ordinary military measure, and does not evince a sacrilegious spirit. Nor was it a measure adopted only by the Normans. Cormac, son of Art O'Melaghlin, we are told, 'went to the castle of Birr, burned its bawn, and burned the entire church and took all its food (*biadh*) out of it, in order that the Foreigners of the castle should not get food in it.'[2]

First stone castle in Dublin completed.

It is probable that about this time the first stone castle in Dublin was completed. There was indeed a castle here of some sort from the early days of the Norman occupation. According to the Song of Dermot, when Henry was leaving Ireland he gave the custody of the city of Dublin and of the castle and the keep (*e le chastel e le dongun*) to Hugh de Lacy.[3] These are the very words with which the same writer describes the mote-fortress erected soon afterwards for Hugh de Lacy at Trim, and the inference is that the fortress at Dublin was of

[1] *Supra*, pp. 195–8.
[2] Ann. Loch Cé, 1214.
[3] Song of Dermot, l. 2715.

the same type. The *porta castelli* is mentioned in one of Strongbow's grants.[1] To judge by the analogy of other walled towns, Wexford, for instance, the mote would have been erected adjoining the walls at some one point so as to form part of the general enceinte for defensive purposes against outside attack, and yet be separated by its ditch from the town, so as to be capable of defence in this direction also. That the castle of Dublin was surrounded by a ditch and approached by a bridge prior to John's reign we know from a curious record of the year 1200. This was a criminal pleading which came before the king concerning the murder of William le Brun, who was struck on the bridge of Dublin Castle by a man with a hatchet, and fell into the castle-ditch.[2] This description, so far as it goes, harmonizes with the supposition that the castle was of the mote type. Further, that it was not a strong stone castle appears from a mandate of King John to Meiler Fitz Henry in 1204, directing him to build one.

This mandate was to the following effect: 'You have informed us that you have no fit place for the custody of our treasure, and inasmuch as for this and for other purposes we need fortalices at Dublin, we command you to construct a strong castle there with good ditches

[1] Reg. St. Thomas's, Dublin, no. 419. *Supra*, vol. i, p. 370.
[2] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 116.

and strong walls in a suitable place for the governance and, if need be, the defence of the town; but first you are to construct a tower or keep (*turris*), where afterwards a castle and bailey (*castellum et baluum*) [1] and other necessary works may conveniently be constructed. For this at present you are to take 300 marks which Geoffrey Fitz Robert owes us.' [2] This keep may have been built by Meiler, but we have no proof. The works, however, appear to have extended over several years, and it is probable that John de Gray, who, as we have seen, was an energetic castle-builder, had much to do with pushing on its construction. At all events, the king's castle of Dublin was in existence at the close of John de Gray's term of office, when its custody was ordered to be delivered to Archbishop Henry, the new justiciar.[3] To the archbishop, indeed, the building of the castle is ascribed in the annals of St. Mary's abbey, but probably he only completed the works. To make room for the fortifications of the castle certain churches were

[1] This is a good example of the distinction at this time between the *turris* or keep and the *castellum* or enclosing walls. So in the Song of Dermot we have the expression *donjon e chastel*, and in Irish *tech ocus caislén*.

[2] Rot. Claus., 6 John, p. 6 b. The debt of 300 marks had not been recovered from Geoffrey Fitz Robert by March 6, 1206, when Meiler was ordered to distrain Geoffrey's lands for it: C. D. I., vol. i, no. 287.

[3] Rot. Pat., 15 John, p. 105 b.

cleared away, for which the archbishop received a grant of two cantreds without Dublin as compensation.[1] This castle, of the keep and bailey plan, occupied part of the site of the present castle, and it seems probable that the Record Tower still preserves in its lower stages some of the masonry of the original keep.

Loyalty of the Irish barons.

During the years that followed John's visit to Ireland the barons there, unlike the English barons, seem to have been thoroughly loyal to the Crown. This may have been in part due to the severe lesson which John had given to the de Lacys and William de Braose, but their loyal conduct, for which the king thanked his Irish barons more than once, should also be attributed to the skilful handling of the justiciar, John de Gray, and above all to the example and leading of the greatest of them, William Marshal. Two remarkable letters from the king, and a still more remarkable manifesto of the barons, are evidence of this loyalty. It is difficult to date these documents precisely, or even to determine their relative sequence, but on the whole it is probable that the manifesto preceded the letters, which seem rightly ascribed to about October 1212.[2] This manifesto purports to proceed from

[1] Rot. Pat., 1 Hen. III, m. 2; Cal. Docs. Ireland, no. 805.

[2] From its opening words the manifesto apparently followed the Pope's action in absolving or threatening to absolve the king's subjects from their fealty to the king.

Their manifesto.

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and twenty-six of the principal magnates of Ireland on behalf of the rest. 'Moved with grief and astonishment,' they say, 'they had lately heard that the Pope proposed to absolve the subjects of the king from their fealty, because the king resisted the injury done to him regarding the matter of the church of Canterbury.' They go on to defend the king's action as directed to preserve the liberty and dignity which the Crown had hitherto enjoyed, and conclude by stating that 'with the king they are prepared to live or die, and to the last they will faithfully and inseparably adhere to the king.' [1]

John's letters to the Bishop of Norwich and William Marshal.

John's letter to the Bishop of Norwich commends the discretion of the bishop, thanks him and the barons of Ireland for the oath of fealty which the barons lately tendered, and repeats the substance of his letter to the Earl Marshal. In this latter John returns special thanks to the earl as the prime mover in the matter (which

This appears to have been done either by Pandulf on the failure of his negotiations with John on the 30th August, 1211 (Ann. of Burton), or, more probably, by the Pope himself on the return of his envoys (Rog. de Wendover, ii. 59). Doubt has been thrown on this story by Sir James Ramsay (Angevin Empire, p. 430), but it would seem to have been believed at the time in Wales: Brut y Tywys. (1212), p. 273.

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, i, no. 448, from the Red Book Exchequer, Q. R.

we can well believe), begs him to remain in Ireland to assist the bishop in expediting the king's affairs, sends a transcript of letters (about which nothing further is known) made to the king by the magnates of England, and prays the earl with the other barons of Ireland to put their seals to similar letters. Finally, he alludes to the Marshal's counsel about establishing peace with the Church, and desires him to notify under what form it seems meet to the common council of the king's faithful subjects of Ireland that peace should be made without injury to the king's rights.[1]

Early in 1213 King John issued a general summons to all who owed him fealty to muster at Dover at the close of Easter. This was in view of the meditated invasion of the French king. The muster took place, and the troops, said to be 60,000 strong, were reviewed at Barham Down near Canterbury, early in May. Among those assembled were Bishop John of Norwich and Earl William Marshal, with 500 knights and many other horsemen from Ireland.[2] That Ireland could be denuded of such a force without any disturbance arising, beyond a con-

The Irish barons muster at Barham Down, May 4-6.

[1] Rot. Claus., 14 John, p. 132 b.

[2] Roger of Wendover, vol. ii, p. 67. William Marshal, when summoned to John, is said to have advised this muster: Hist. G. le Maréchal, vol ii, p. 161; where 'le mont de Brandone' no doubt represents Barham Down.

tinuance of the petty raids of the disappointed roydamnas, is a noteworthy proof of the strength of the English colonists when not divided against themselves, and a striking indication of the general contentment of the Irish among them with the new order of things.

John's surrender.

On May 15 John met Pandulf the papal legate at the house of the Templars near Dover, where 'of his own free-will and by the common counsel of his barons', as he says, he surrendered to the Pope the realms of England and Ireland to receive them back and hold them as a feudatory of the Roman Church. He also swore fealty to the Pope and undertook to pay to the Roman Church 1,000 marks annually, 700 for England and 300 for Ireland. Among the witnesses to this humiliating charter were Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, John, Bishop of Norwich, and William, Earl of Pembroke.[1] This took place a few days before Ascension Day. Verily the hermit Peter, who prophesied that on that day John would no longer be king, might claim that his prophecy had come true. The immediate effect, however, was to disperse the storm that was gathering both at home and abroad, and fix John's crown more securely on his head. In Ireland, indeed, John's reconciliation with the papacy had no more effect than his previous quarrel. The interdict did not apply to Ireland,

[1] Roger of Wendover, vol. ii, pp. 74–6.

and there were now no disloyal barons. They had expressed their indignation at the Pope's sentence of deposition and their determination to adhere to the king, but at the same time they had apparently counselled him to make peace with the Church, and their leader and spokesman, William Marshal, stood by John's side when the submission was made. In Ireland there was certainly no indignation at the surrender, if indeed that sentiment was widely felt anywhere at the time.

Magna Carta.

In the wringing of the Great Charter from John the Irish barons, though they had suffered much from his exactions, extortions, and oppressions, played no part. It may be, however, that, while the chief credit for that achievement must be assigned to the firmness and far-sighted statesmanship of Stephen Langton, John was actually induced to sign the document by the upright, wise, and loyal counsel given him by William the Marshal, who stood by his side and acted as intermediary, rather than by the bluster and threats of the revolted barons. John in his adversity had at last learned to value and trust in the earl as one who would give him disinterested, if not always palatable, advice, and for the last three years of his reign kept him pretty constantly at his side.

In the weeks that followed the signing of the Great Charter, John made a large number of

Followed by numerous beneficial grants to Ireland.

grants to towns and individuals in Ireland of a beneficial nature. The object in view may have been to keep the Irish barons steadfast in their loyalty, or even largely to obtain money, but in the wise attention bestowed on Irish affairs at this time we may perhaps detect the influence of William Marshal and of the Dublin archbishop, both of whom were among the king's diminished counsellors.

Charters to Dublin, Waterford, and Dungarvan, 1215.

Some of these grants we may here mention. To the citizens of Dublin John granted the city with the provostship to be held in fee-farm at an annual rent of 200 marks, adding some new privileges and confirming all liberties and free customs previously conferred.[1] To the citizens of Waterford he gave a charter defining the extent of the port of Waterford and granting a number of liberties and free customs similar to those given to Dublin by the charter of 1192, and in addition a declaration that all ships or boats entering the port between Rodybanke (Red Head, near Dunmore) and Ryndowane (the Hook) should load and unload at the Quay of Waterford and nowhere else within the port.[2] William Marshal, who witnessed this charter,

[1] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 210 b.

[2] Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 13, where the charter is wrongly dated 3rd July, a. r. vii, instead of 3rd July, a. r. xvii. It is witnessed by H[enri] Archbishop of Dublin and others who were all present at court on the 3rd July, 1215.

cannot at the moment have foreseen how unfairly this exclusive privilege would work against his own port of New Ross, for there was no way of reaching it except between Red Head and the Hook. A few weeks later he obtained a mandate from John authorizing shipping to come to New Ross, 'provided no injury should thereby accrue to the king's vill of Waterford';[1] but the proviso virtually nullified the concession, and century-long disputes resulted. To the burgesses of Dungarvan John granted all the liberties and free customs of Breteuil,[2] a town in Normandy. This expression has been misunderstood. Following the precedent of Henry's charter to Dublin, it became customary in Ireland, when granting charters to towns for the first time, to grant to them 'the law of Bristol'. Thus John in Henry's lifetime seems to have granted to the citizens of Cork the same free laws and free customs as the citizens of Bristol enjoyed.[3] After 1188, when John granted an extended charter to Bristol, the law of Bristol would include the liberties and free customs mentioned in that charter. These were substantially the liberties and free customs expressly included in

[1] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 153 b.

[2] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 211: 'omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines de Bretoill[io],' absurdly taken by Sweetman, Cal., vol. i, no. 578, as meaning 'bridge-toll'.

[3] See Council Book of Cork (Caulfield), p. x, referring to Harleian MS. no. 441.

John's Dublin charter of 1192. In 1213, however, John granted to the burgesses of Drogheda the law, not of Bristol, but of Breteuil, with all the liberties and customs appertaining to that law.[1] And now in granting a charter to Dungarvan a similar phrase is used. What these customs of Breteuil exactly were we do not know, but they were probably not dissimilar from those granted to Bristol in 1188. In the first year of his reign John granted a charter to his burgesses of Breteuil (*de Bretolio*), on account of the great loss they had incurred in his service, that they might buy and sell throughout his land by the same liberties as were enjoyed by the burgesses of Verneuil (near Breteuil).[2] The feudal lords in Ireland, however, in granting charters for the first time, granted liberties 'according to the law of Bristol'. Thus Walter de Lacy granted the law of Bristol to his burgesses of Trim and Kells, and we find the burgesses of the archiepiscopal towns of Rathcoole, Ballymore, and Holywood holding according to the same laws and liberties.[3]

[1] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 194: 'legem de Breteill[io] cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus ad eandem legem pertinentibus.'

[2] Rot. Chart., 1 John, p. 5: 'ut emant et vendant per totam terram nostram per easdem libertates quas burgenses nostri de V[er]nolio habent.'

[3] For Trim and Kells see Chartae Priv. et Immun., p. 10; for Rathcoole, ibid., p. 33; for Ballymore and Holywood, Cal. Lib. Niger, Prec. R. I. A., xxvii (c), pp. 60, 62.

Whatever the motive may have been, John's grants of charters to the seaport towns of Ireland gave a great impetus to the growth of Irish trade.

Grants to individuals.

His grants and restorations of lands to individuals at this time were no less remarkable, and did something to restore the sense of security which must have been shattered by his wholesale confiscations in 1210. The lordship of Ulster was not restored to Hugh de Lacy,[1] but many of the freeholders there and in Meath who had been taken prisoners in the castle of Carrickfergus were restored on payment of fines to their liberty and their lands. About the same time large grants of lands in the north of Ulster were, as we have seen, made to Thomas and Alan of Galloway and their uncle, Duncan of Carrick. With Walter de Lacy, however, the king now came to terms, and, in consideration of a fine of 4,000 marks, restored to him his lands and castles, except the castle of Drogheda, which was retained as a royal castle.[2] In Leinster John made, or purported to make, a tardy restitution to William the Marshal by repeatedly ordering that the castle of Dunamase, and all his fees in the lands held by Meiler

[1] There appear to have been negotiations for the restoration of Ulster to Hugh, but the stipulated fine (the amount is not stated) was not paid, so the king announced that he could only convert the land of Ulster to his own profit: Rot. Pat., 16 John, p. 134.

[2] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 181.

Fitz Henry, should be restored to him.[1] It seems, however, that these orders were not entirely carried out in John's lifetime.[2] In Munster John granted to Thomas Fitz Anthony and his heirs the custody of the counties of Waterford and Desmond and of the city of Cork, and of all the demesnes and escheats of the king in those counties, for the yearly rent of 250 marks.[3] John appears to have treated the southern portion of the present county of Tipperary as his demesne or escheat, probably as having been demesne of William de Braose, and for a fine of £100 he now granted to Philip of Worcester 'to maintain him on the king's service' five cantreds in this district, and the castles of Knockgraffon, Kiltinan, and Ardmayle.[4] The honour of Limerick was not revived, but Richard, son of William de Burgh, Maurice, son

[1] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 644, 647, 664, 684, 689, 691.

[2] On December 2, 1216, a few weeks after John's death, Meiler's service for his land in Leinster was ordered to be restored to the earl in a remarkable mandate: Rot. Pat., 1 Hen. III, m. 16. It would appear from Rot. Pat., 17 John, pp. 161 b and 180, touching the restoration of Dunamase, that John employed certain secret signs (*intersigna*) without which his justiciar was not to carry out his ostensible orders.

[3] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 210 b.

[4] Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 147 b. The castle of Ardmayle, however, had belonged to Walter de Lacy and was afterwards restored to him. For Knockgraffon see *supra*, p. 147.

of Gerald Fitz Gerald, and Hamo, son of Hamo de Valognes, were given seisin of their respective fathers' lands ;[1] while the cantred of Okonach (Coonagh), which seems to have been also demesne of William de Braose, and the vill and cantred of Tibrary (Tipperary) were granted to Archbishop Henry.[2] As regards Connaught, John made the grant to Cathal Crovderg to which we have already referred.[3]

John made several other grants and concessions to his Irish subjects during the last year of his reign, but we have mentioned the most important. Altogether the fines payable for them amounted to a considerable sum, which was badly needed for 'the Barons' War'. One of his very last acts indicates remorse for one of his many crimes. On the 10th of October, 1216, he granted to Margaret de Lacy a site whereon to build a monastery for the good of the souls of her father, William de Braose, his wife and son.[4] John died on the 18th of October, 1216.

Character of John's Irish rule.

It has been the fashion, especially with writers who have seldom a good word for English policy in Ireland, to bestow a considerable measure of praise upon the action of King John in that country. But if we have correctly read the record of his rule, this praise was wholly

[1] Rot. Pat., 16 John, p. 118 b ; 17 John, p. 147.
[2] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 213.
[3] *Supra*, p. 285.
[4] Rot. Pat., 18 John, p. 199.

undeserved. We need not recall his disastrous boyish visit in 1185, nor dwell on the obscure period that elapsed before his accession to the throne. But from the commencement of his reign until near its close, when by his conduct in England he had alienated almost all support and could no longer make his will prevail, his action in Ireland seems to have been swayed by capricious favouritism or by vindictive personal animosity, without any regard for the general weal of his Irish dominion. For the native Irish themselves, in common with too many of his contemporaries, he had no sort of regard. But while aways ready to grant away their territories (for a consideration) to his favourites, he gave the latter no assistance in making his grants effective, and no support in establishing their rule. On the contrary, with or without pretext, he again and again overrode his own grants in the most capricious manner. To recall only the principal examples: He first parcelled out the kingdom of Limerick among a number of tenants-in-chief of the Crown, and then, without any regard to the rights so conferred, sold the whole honour of Limerick to his favourite for the moment, William de Braose. A few years later he remorselessly hunted down William de Braose and his family, because he was unable to pay the stipulated consideration. He encouraged Hugh de Lacy to make war upon John

de Courcy, and when Hugh had succeeded, loaded him with honours and granted him the lands which his victim had won and organized. Then five years later he led a great army into Ireland, expelled both Hugh and his brother Walter, and confiscated their lands, on no better pretext than that they had endeavoured to shelter the objects of his tyranny. He similarly encouraged his justiciar Meiler Fitz Henry to make private war on William Marshal, and it was only when Meiler failed that he grudgingly acknowledged the earl's rights. Had John dared, however, we can hardly doubt that the fief of Leinster would have gone the same way as those of Limerick, Ulster, and Meath. John, in a word, was the same man in Ireland as in England: capricious, vindictive, tyrannical, only that in his tyranny he was even less under control. But when he found himself almost alone and in need of the support of his Irish barons, then he did something to undo the evil he had done, to reinstate those he had dispossessed, and to grant a number of charters favourable to the trade of the seaport towns. Among the first acts of the new boy-king, or rather of his great regent Earl William Marshal, was to extend to Ireland the liberties which had been wrested from John for England, and to further the work of undoing, so far as might be, the wrong that John had done.

CHAPTER XXIII

AFTER FIFTY YEARS

The Pax Normannica within the colony.

Not quite half a century had now elapsed since the Norman invader first set foot on Bannow Island, and in the course of that brief period a great change had taken place over at least two-thirds of Ireland. In the eastern parts of Ulster and Uriel, throughout the whole of the ancient kingdoms of Meath, Leinster, Ossory, Desmond, and Limerick, the Normans dominated almost everywhere. In each lordship, after the first few years of resistance, a period of comparative peace and order commenced such as Ireland had never known before. It was a veritable 'pax Normannica', and was co-extensive with Norman sway. It was not produced by strong legionary forces encamped at strategic points, nor by armed garrisons within impregnable castles of stone. Wooden fortresses protected by earthworks were indeed erected on almost every manor, but except as a safe retreat in the event of a sudden rising or for a last stand in the face of overwhelming odds, they were of little military avail, and in most cases after a generation or so were either con-

verted into stone castles or fell into disuse. The conquest, rendered inevitable by the previous anarchy, was effected primarily by superior weapons and better discipline in the field, but the position won was maintained and peace secured by that instinct for organized rule which is the mark of progressive races all the world over, and which, for the time at any rate, in the districts named, led to a general acquiescence in the change of rulers.

Some disturbances, no doubt, took place within this region, especially along the marches or borders between 'the land of peace' and 'the land of war', as the English and Irish districts were sometimes respectively called;[1] but they were of small moment in comparison with the desolating raids that went on with little rest before the strong hand of the Normans stayed them. Above all, there were no more inter-provincial wars in this region. Neither an O'Brien, nor an O'Conor, nor an O'Rourke, came swooping down with their hosts over Leinster or Meath, carrying off whatever booty they could lay hands on. Nor was the lordship of Ulster subject any longer to periodical devastation at the hands of the Cinel Owen. Only in those districts where the Normans were not supreme

[1] The use of the term 'English Pale' to denote the districts dominated by the English prior to the fifteenth century is a misnomer and an anachronism.

did the turmoil of the past continue—a turmoil now caused partly, but not exclusively, by the efforts of the new-comers to extend their domination. Some of the leading barons, indeed, opposed armed resistance to the forces of King John's first justiciar, and writers have dwelt on these conflicts as evincing the innate turbulence of the Normans. We have traced these disturbances, such as they were, to him who appears to have been their real author; but in any case they were as nothing to the 'Barons' War' which broke out in England a few years later from the same cause. On the whole, with one or two exceptions, the barons of Ireland stood faithfully by each other and by the common cause of the colony.

Treatment of the Irish.

As to the treatment of the Irish by the invaders I do not propose to consider the question from the moral point of view. This is emphatically one of those questions which cannot be fairly or usefully discussed with a tacit reference to modern standards. In any case we must first of all find out, if we can, how the Normans did in fact treat the Irish. Then those whose knowledge of history is sufficient for the comparison may, if they wish, compare the action of the Normans with that of other conquering races in similar conditions elsewhere. To the preliminary investigation, which is encompassed by much difficulty, we may make the following tentative contribution.

From what is known of the sub-infeudation of Leinster, Meath, and Uriel—and the same is probably true of other districts also—each of the larger sub-grants appears to have generally comprised the territory of a distinct sept, or smaller tribe, and to be now roughly represented by the baronial divisions. The few surviving charters or transcripts of charters show that the lands were conveyed under their old denominations without any express mention of boundaries, and often as some particular sept or chieftain of a sept held the same. The former chieftain, whether of a sept or of a group of septs or larger division, was of course deprived in whole or in part of his ancient privileges. Where he resisted the invaders he either fell in the conflict or was expelled, or perhaps retired into a monastery.[1] In most cases, however, even in Meath and Leinster, and apparently still more often in Ulster and Munster, the more important chieftains submitted to terms, accepted portions of their former territories, and continued to rule there according to Irish law. Thus the O'Melaghlins in part of Westmeath, the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles on the skirts of the Wicklow Mountains, the Mac Murroughs about the northern borders of their former principality, the O'Conors

Expropriation of former chiefs.

[1] Faelan Mac Faelain, lord of Offelan, died in the monastery of Old Connell founded by Meiler Fitz Henry: Four Masters, 1203.

Faly and the O'Mores in the western parts of their territories, the Mac Gillapatricks in Upper Ossory, and other smaller chieftains, continued their tribal rule and organization, though in much more confined areas. In Munster, and perhaps in Ulster, English and Irish districts seem to have been still more closely intermixed. As an example of the gradual expropriation of an Irish chieftain we may mention the case of Donnell O'Faelain, lord of the Decies of Munster, who in 1204 quit-claimed to the king the province of Dungarvan, one of the three cantreds held by him, on condition that the other two should remain with him, one for his life, and the other as an inheritance.[1] Somewhat similar arrangements were made, as we have seen, with the Mac Carthys, the O'Briens, and the O'Conors. There is also at least one example—that of Donnell Mac Gillamocholmog—of an Irish chieftain who became a feudal lord, and whose grandson, by intermarrying with the Geraldines and dropping the Irish surname, became almost indistinguishable from his Norman neighbours.[2] Of the smaller chieftains some may have been treated similarly. Others perhaps were driven

[1] Rot. Claus., 6 John, p. 6 b: 'ita quod alii duo sibi remaneret, scilicet alter eorum in vita sua et alter hereditarie.'

[2] *Supra*, vol. i, p. 368, and see Gilbert's History of Dublin, vol. i, pp. 230–5, and Mr. Mills's paper, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1894, p. 162.

into the Irish districts at once. Sooner or later, throughout large parts of the east and south of Ireland, the lands held in severalty were expropriated, and probably became the demesnes of early Norman manors.

Interspersed Irish districts.

Thus in many parts of the region nominally dominated by the Normans, as well as in the parts where they had effected no settlement, there remained Irish districts where the former Irish tribal organization was continued, where the ancient Brehon law was observed, where the former ruling families still continued to draw the allegiance of the tribesmen, and where the king's writ did not run. Even when these Irish districts were quiet and at peace with the Normans there was at first no amalgamation of the two peoples; and, except so far as the Irish may have adopted from their neighbours some improved methods of building and perhaps of agriculture, or have taken advantage of the greater facilities now offered for trade, they seem to have participated but little in the increased prosperity of the rest of the country. On the other hand, these Celtic tribes interspersed among the feudalized districts had always the feeling rankling in their minds that the invaders had robbed them of the best lands, and they remained always ready, when opportunity should occur, to raid and plunder as of old, and if possible recover the land they had lost.

Retention of tillers of the soil.

But though sooner or later most of the free tribesmen were thus in one way or another cleared off the feudalized districts, it was not so with the actual tillers of the soil. Every inducement was offered to them to remain on the newly settled land, and a variety of evidence goes to show that the inducements offered were effective. We have not only the express statement of Giraldus that it was a prime object with Hugh de Lacy to invite back to peace the rural inhabitants who had been driven out in the course of the reprisals that followed the rising of 1174, and to restore to them their farms and pasture lands, but we can see from the Treaty of Windsor with Rory O'Conor in 1175,[1] and from the mandate to the justiciary in 1204, 'to cause the villeins and fugitives from the province of Dungarvan to return with their chattels and retinue,'[2] that measures were taken to enforce the return to their homes of those who had fled when their tribe-land was first overrun. Moreover, from the surviving extents and accounts of manors dating from about the middle of the thirteenth century and from other sources, it appears that a class of Irish farmers called *betagii* or betaghs was generally to be found on each manor. Thus in the earliest Irish Pipe Roll that has been preserved we find in the crown-lands near Dublin considerable sums paid as rent by the betaghs

Betaghs.

[1] *Supra*, vol. i, p. 350. [2] Rot. Claus., 6 John, p. 6 b.

of Othee, Obrun, and Okelli, tribe-lands on the skirts of the Dublin and Wicklow mountains.[1] In some manors the rents of the betaghs were the principal source of income,[2] and we can hardly doubt that they were very numerous, especially in the settled districts more remote from Dublin.

Betaghs are identified as regards their legal status with the *nativi* or villeins of feudal law.[3] In the Rolls of Court they are often termed *hibernici* in a technical sense—in full phrase, *hibernici servilis conditionis.*[4] Probably they represented the 'daer-stock tenants' or 'base vassals' of the Brehon law, who, as we have seen, were bound to pay food-rents and provide refection for their lord, to whom they had parted with their honour-price, and against whom they could not bear witness.[5] Similarly in the Anglo-

[1] Irish Pipe Roll, 13 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 29.

[2] See the account of the manor of Lucan, Pipe Roll, 2 Ed. I, summarized by Mr. Mills, Journ. R. S. A. I. 1894, p. 174; and for further evidence as to the position of betaghs, the same writer's notice of the manor of St. Sepulchre, ibid. 1889, pp. 31–41, and 1890, pp. 54–63; and the extents of certain Munster manors, Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 2607 (Kilsheelan) and 3203, vol. iii, no. 459.

[3] Stat., 14 Ed. II and 5 Ed. III, § 3; Early Statutes (Berry), pp. 292, 325; and cf. Harris's Ware, Antiquities (1764), p. 157.

[4] Justiciary Rolls, Pref., p. viii. This double meaning of the term *hibernicus* has misled many writers.

[5] *Supra*, vol. i, p. 116. It would seem that the name must be connected with *biathad*, the word used in the Book of Rights for refection. *Orba biatach* is applied in the

Irish courts it was a valid plea in bar that the plaintiff was a betagh or *hibernicus* who had not obtained the right to use English laws;[1] and again similarly the Anglo-Irish lord could recover damages for the killing, assaulting, or robbing of his *hibernici*.[2] It would seem, then, that the Normans, in not admitting betaghs to the full rights of freemen, were not lowering their status. The *hibernicus* might, however, be enfranchised by the king, or by his immediate lord,[3] and in most of the cases that came before the courts such enfranchisement was in fact proved, and the plea in bar failed. Betaghs were perhaps at first *adscripti glebae*, like the sept of Macfeilecan, transferred with the land of Baldoyle by Dermot's charter to the canons of All Saints, Dublin,[4] but some of them seem to have risen into the class of *firmarii*, whose position was regulated by contract.

Besides betaghs there was a large class of Irish agricultural labourers, including the lord's churls,

Brehon Laws, vol. iv, p. 44, l. 10, to lands set apart for providing food for the chief. The *biatach coitchenn*, or 'public hospitaller', must, however, be distinguished from these ordinary betaghs: Four Masters, 1225, note *s*; and cf. the *lánbiatach* of the Ann. Ulster, 1178.

[1] Justiciary Rolls, pp. 82, 454, &c.

[2] Ibid., pp. 156, 162, 221, &c.

[3] Ibid., p. 271, where Walter Otothel (O'Toole) produced a charter of enfranchisement given to his great-grandfather by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, in the tenth year of King John.

[4] Reg. All Hallows, I. A. S., p. 50.

who worked on his farms, and who perhaps represented the *fuidhirs* or bondsmen of the Celtic chief. Above these classes were Irish artisans of various sorts, who, though *hibernici*, were not of servile condition, and could sue and recover damages even against their employers.[1] Mr. Mills, the present deputy-keeper of the records in Ireland, who has studied the condition of the inferior agricultural classes in the thirteenth century, considers that their condition 'was steadily improving where the power of the Norman colony was least disturbed, and while it retained anything of its pristine vigour '.[2]

'No felony to kill an Irishman.'

To modern minds, however, the withholding the benefit of the laws of England from the Irish is the greatest blot on the record of the Normans in Ireland. Sir John Davies puts it in the forefront of 'the defects in the civil policy and government which impeded a full conquest'. To take the most glaring case, 'it was often,' he says, 'adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace.'[3] This is a difficult subject, which has never been adequately treated, and

[1] See Just. Rolls, p. 342. A case where the jury found that the plaintiff and his father were *hibernici* (Irishmen) and millers of the defendant and his father, but not *hibernici* (villeins) of the defendant. The plaintiff was therefore capable of suing, and in fact recovered damages. This is a good example of the double meaning of *hibernicus*.

[2] Journ. R. S. A. I. 1890–1, p. 62.

[3] Discovery (1787), pp. 75–7.

cannot here be fully discussed. It may, however, be observed, in the first place, that it would have been quite futile to attempt to extend English laws over all Ireland without having first established adequate machinery to enforce them. The laws would have been contemptuously disregarded by the Irish themselves. Sir John Davies in fact inverts cause and effect. Until the conquest was perfected it was obviously impossible to maintain sheriffs and enforce judgements in Irish districts. It was difficult enough to do so after the Elizabethan wars. If an Irishman living in an Irish district killed an Englishman in time of peace we may be quite sure that, unless caught by the English, he would either be not punished at all or at most be liable under the Brehon law to pay a fine for the homicide. With the Irish it was certainly no felony to kill an Englishman. This being so, we can hardly wonder that in the converse case an Englishman could not be hung. Again, in the case of Irishmen of servile condition living under a lord in a feudalized district, it would be unreasonable to expect the Normans, at the period we have reached, at any rate, to grant them, as a body, liberties which they had not enjoyed under their former chieftains, and that, too, at a time when similar classes in England were in a state of serfdom. The lord of the betagh, as we have seen, had his remedy in damages for

Real case of harsh treatment.

any violence done to his men. There remains then only the case of those Irishmen who had enjoyed freedom under the Brehon laws and who remained in the feudalized districts. Probably these free-born Irishmen so remaining were not very numerous, and probably, too, the right to use English laws was granted to most of them individually, though here again, perhaps following the unfortunate precedent of the Brehon law, the English law 'as to life and limb' seems not at first to have been included in the grant—so slow were the Normans to admit any class of Irishmen to equality with themselves.[1]

A wider experience has gradually taught the western world that to make a united and contented nation equal rights before the law must be secured to all. Such a conception was, however, entirely beyond the ken of the statesmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and indeed could not have been realized in Ireland without a complete conquest and a rooting up of old customs, which would have inevitably entailed, for the time at any rate, immense hardship. But had the Normans been wiser in their generation, they would have spared no pains to induce as many as possible of the free-born Irishmen to remain amongst them, and by good faith

[1] It was extended to them by Stat., 14 Ed. II; Early Statutes, p. 292; cf. Rot. Claus., 12 Hen. III, m. 8; ibid., pp. 23–4.

and liberal treatment have won them over to the support of the new régime. This, indeed, appears to have been the idea of Giraldus.[1] They might, we should imagine, have converted them into feudal owners, living in their midst, and thus have enormously strengthened their own position, and, while preserving their own more advanced ideas of order and government, have made a commencement in the amalgamation of the two races. But it is plain that the Normans regarded the Irish as an uncouth and barbarous people and the fit spoil of their conquerors, and those who guided the destinies of the colony were not far-seeing enough to perceive the ultimate effect of a half-conquest carried out in such a spirit.

Treatment of the Ostmen.

The Ostmen of the seaport towns were perhaps more ready than the Irish to accept the new régime, and were treated more liberally; but in their case it is obvious the same difficulties did not arise. In Dublin they were given a district to inhabit on the north side of the river, outside the walls. This was long known as the *villa Ostmannorum*, Ostmantown, or (corruptly) Oxmantown. In Waterford they were given a charter by Henry II entitling them to the law of

[1] See his condemnation of the taking away 'the lands of our Irishmen who had faithfully stood by us from the first', vol. v, p. 390, and his opinion (p. 398) as to how Ireland should be governed.

the English,[1] and, perhaps after the revolt of 1174, they were settled in a quarter of their own outside the town.[2] Henry III took them under his protection, and Edward I confirmed his great-grandfather's charter.[3] The Ostmen of Limerick, however, as we have seen, remained in the city and supplied the first mayor to the newly chartered town. In all cases the Ostmen seem to have had full rights of holding and inheriting property and of suing in the courts, though sometimes they had to prove that they were not Irishmen, and to petition for a recognition of their rights as Ostmen.[4]

The cantred of the Ostmen both at Cork and at Limerick was retained in the king's hand along with the cities. At Limerick forty carucates of this land were afterwards granted to the citizens

[1] A transcript of this charter is among the Carew Papers : Cal. Misc., p. 466.

[2] The vill of the Ostmen near Waterford is referred to in Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, p. 426. The finding of a jury in 1310 as to the cause of the expulsion of the Ostmen of Waterford cannot, I think, be taken as correct. See Facsimiles Nat. MSS. of Ireland, vol. iii, Introd. vi, pl. vii, and App. iii, and *supra*, vol. i, p. 336.

[3] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. ii, no. 2134, where Henry II's charter is stated to have been inspected. For *Custmanni* read *Oustmanni*.

[4] See the petition of Philip Mac Gothmond, 'an Ostman and Englishman' of Waterford, for himself and 400 of his race : Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. iii, p. 305 ; also of Maurice Macotere, ibid., p. 306.

in burgage tenure.[1] Most of the Ostmen mentioned in the records belonged, as might be expected, to the towns, but some of them were to be found in rural parts as agriculturists. Thus about the year 1283 a Wexford jury found that there were in the time of the Marshals 100 well-to-do Ostmen, possessed of cattle, who had to pay certain dues to the provosts of Wexford for the lord of the liberty, and that provided they paid these dues they were free to hold of any lord in the county they chose. Some forty of these, reduced in wealth, survived in the time of William de Valence, when they were freed from the aforesaid burdens, and given licence to hold land of any lord in the county at rents and services proportionate to their reduced numbers and means.[2]

No general clearance of population.

It is quite certain then that there was no general clearance of the native population. There is no sign of any considerable influx of foreigners into the rural parts of Ireland. Land without inhabitants was obviously of no value to the Anglo-Norman lords, and it was their aim to retain as many of the former cultivators of the soil as possible. To the mass of these the Anglo-Norman settlement meant little more than a

[1] Rot. Chart., 17 John, p. 211.

[2] See this document transcribed in an interesting paper on the English and Ostmen in Ireland by E. Curtis, Eng. Hist. Rev. 1908, p. 217.

change of territorial rulers. Instead of the exactions of their former chiefs, some small rents and certain services were required by their new lords. Some liberties might be lost, but in return they obtained greater security for their cattle and a better market for their produce. Though East Meath was more fully occupied by the foreigners than perhaps any other rural part of Ireland (with the possible exception of the parts near Dublin and the south-east corner of the County Wexford), and though that occupation remained unchecked through the centuries, Irish continued to be the language spoken by the mass of the people, and in process of time even by some of the descendants of the foreign settlers, up to at least the middle of the seventeenth century, and it only finally died out amongst the old people within living memory.

Feudalized Ireland.

We have mentioned that the mote-castles of the first settlers served only a temporary military purpose, but as manorial centres they or their successors soon became the foci of new activities, agricultural, industrial, and commercial. Demesne lands were marked out, commons were set apart, in some few cases forests were reserved for game. Grants of lands were made to a number of free tenants of foreign birth, to be held for military service, and subordinate manors were created. Lands were also let to farmers at a rent, and these were in some

cases of Irish extraction. Improved methods of agriculture were introduced on the home farms. The manorial courts in their several degrees administered justice and settled disputes. Vills sprang up under the protection of the castles and grew to be towns where new industries were carried on, and where no doubt the foreign element predominated. Many of these are still among the chief towns of Ireland, while the memory of others which have entirely disappeared survives in persistent local tradition. Lands in the vicinity of the towns were divided among the burgesses at low fixed rents as burgage-land, and charters were granted to the more thriving towns to encourage trade and secure improvements. Even where the Norman mote now rises lonely amid the fields we often find records or traces or traditions of a town close at hand, and, except in cases where the manorial centre seems to have shifted at an early date, it is rare not to find the remains of a later castle, the ruins of a church with some early English features, and the evidence of an ancient mill-site, in close proximity to the grass-grown mound. Navigable rivers were now used for commerce, and not for raids, and were bridged in places for the same purpose. The Church was at the same time better organized and more adequately endowed, and her temples were re-erected on a grander scale and in the new transitional or, later, in the Early English style.

New monastic establishments were founded and endowed with indeed reckless profusion. Large sums were paid into the English exchequer, which, if of no benefit to Ireland, were at least a proof of growing wealth; and again and again a feudal host was dispatched to the aid of the king in his wars in France, in Wales, and against his own revolted subjects.

Thus in the course of two generations the whole face of two-thirds of Ireland became changed. The seaport towns in particular, most of which owed their origin and small beginnings to the Norsemen, rapidly expanded and became centres of a growing foreign trade. In a future work we hope to trace the development of this new life and to analyse the causes which ultimately checked and defeated its earlier promise. Here it must suffice to note two weak points in that feudal organization which for the first time rendered these peaceful activities possible. It did not extend all over Ireland within the four seas. It embraced in a firm grasp only the eastern parts of the island. It had a weaker hold on the south, while most of the north and west lay practically beyond its control. Moreover, the keystone of the structure was lacking, and its place filled by a weak substitute. The strong restraining hand of the *Dominus Hiberniae* was far away, and he was too fully engaged with other concerns, and indeed, in the person of

Weak points in the structure.

King John, was not morally equipped, either to rule his barons with justice or to restrain them from harsh treatment of his Irish subjects. The first shock to the structure came not from the Gael, not even, if we go to the root of the matter, from the Norman barons, but from the alternate neglect and capricious interference of the *Dominus Hiberniae* himself.

NOTE TO MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF MOTES

This map must be regarded as only a tentative survey. For want of space, and because they are of minor importance, I have not inserted all the true motes known to me in Leinster and Meath. Moreover, I have not personally inspected the greater number of those marked throughout Ireland, and in many cases have had to rely on the descriptions of others. It is often difficult to distinguish between a mote, the fortifications of which have been obliterated, and an ancient Celtic mound erected for sepulchral, ceremonial, or other purposes. It is probable, too, that in several cases the Norman mote occupies the site of an earlier Celtic fort which was adapted for the purpose, and this adaptation may account for some divergences from the normal type, especially in the plan and defences of the bailey or enclosure at foot. These and other circumstances sometimes render it doubtful whether we should regard a given earthwork as a mote or not.

Outside the area of Eastern Ulster, Meath, Leinster, Tipperary, and Waterford, I have aimed at marking all earthworks which should be regarded as belonging to the type in question. In some of these districts, especially in parts of Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon, there are a few earthworks which appear from early Anglo-Norman times to have been called motes, but they are distinguishable in type as not containing a high enclosed mound. They generally consist of a rectangular platform, sometimes artificially or naturally raised a few feet, and surrounded by ditches and ramparts rectangular

in plan. Though from their features and sites, taken in connexion with the data of history, they appear to be Norman or English works, they are distinct in type from the high motes, and were probably formed at a later period, under different conditions, and with a somewhat different object. I have accordingly not included them.

With the above qualifications and explanations the map shows with, I think, substantial accuracy the distribution of motes in Ireland, and this distribution, apart from other evidences, seems to offer a conclusive proof of their Norman origin. They are found thickly scattered throughout the lordships of Meath, Leinster, and Ulster, at the chief manorial seats. There are some fine examples, also at early manorial centres, in Southern Tipperary, and a few in other parts of the south of Ireland. In all Connaught there are only a very few rather degraded examples, while in the districts to which the Normans did not penetrate there are, so far as is known, none at all. Even in Leinster and Meath the areas to which the Irish tribes appear to have been confined show no motes. The map, therefore, incidentally serves not only to indicate the general area of Norman domination about the close of the reign of King John, but also to mark nearly all the more important centres of manors and sub-manors formed at that period.

For some of the evidence of Norman mote-building in Ireland, and for a description of a mote, see *supra*, vol. i, pp. 338–43; and for further evidence on the subject, and references to the writings of others, consult the papers mentioned in the note to p. 342. In chapters xi and xv, and elsewhere, allusion has been made to many of the motes marked on the map.



H.V. Shawcross, Oxford, 1910

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